

**PROCEEDINGS**  
**OF**  
**THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY**  
**HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION**  
**FOR**  
**THE YEAR 1914-15**



**VOLUME VIII**

**EDITED BY**  
**MILO M. QUAIFE**  
**SUPERINTENDENT OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN**

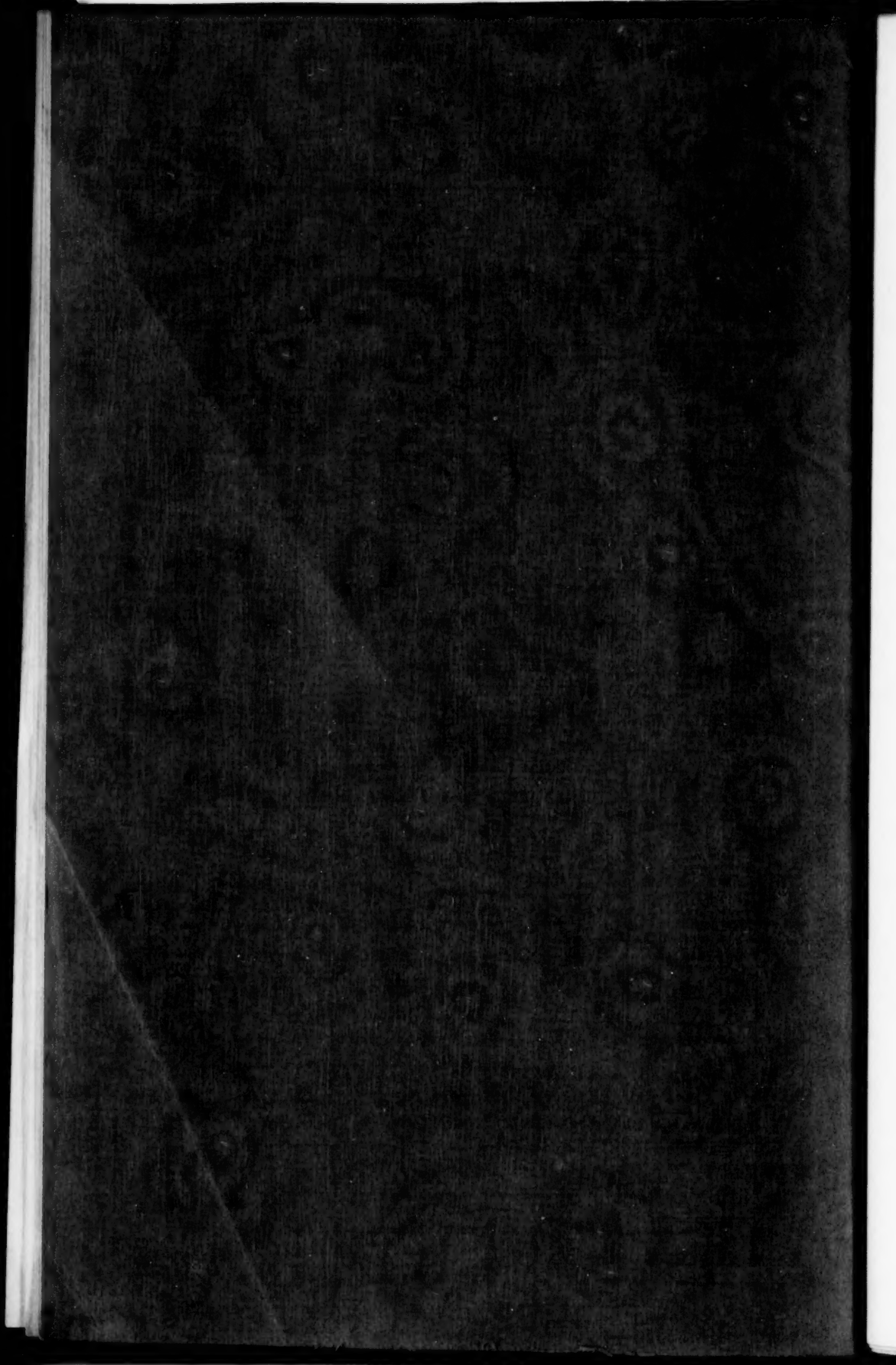


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EXHIBIT  
THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY  
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION  
OF THE  
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OF THE  
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## EDITOR'S PREFACE

For seven years, from the birth of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association until the present time, Prof. Benjamin F. Shambaugh, superintendent of the State Historical Society of Iowa, has edited the *Proceedings* of the Association. Having at length resigned from the editorship, in response to the pressure of more urgent duties, the present editor has consented for a year to assume the burden laid down by Professor Shambaugh. Only those engaged in like work will realize how greatly the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in particular, and the world of historical scholarship in general, are indebted to Professor Shambaugh for his efficient and generous editorial service.

The present volume covers the transactions of the Association from the close of the sixth annual meeting in 1914 to the close of the seventh annual meeting in 1915. Two meetings of the Association were held during this period, a mid-year meeting at Chicago at the time of the session of the American Historical Association, and the seventh annual meeting of the Association at New Orleans, April 22-24, 1915. Several of the papers and addresses delivered at these meetings have been published elsewhere, or, for various reasons, have not been furnished the editor. Except for these the present volume includes all of the papers, addresses before, and reports to, the Association during the year it covers.

The work of preparing the copy for the printer and of seeing it through the press has been shared by Lydia M. Brauer, of the editorial staff of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. The index has been compiled by Louise Phelps Kellogg, also of the Society's staff.

M. M. QUAlFE

MADISON, WISCONSIN

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# CONSTITUTION OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

## I — NAME

The name of this organization shall be the Mississippi Valley Historical Association.

## II — OBJECT

The object of the Association shall be to promote historical study and research and to secure coöperation between the historical societies and the departments of history of the Mississippi Valley.

## III — MEMBERSHIP

Membership in this Association shall be divided into three classes, namely: active, sustaining, and life members. Any one interested in the study of Mississippi Valley history may become a member in any of these classes upon payment of the dues hereinafter provided.

## IV — OFFICERS

The officers of the Association shall be a president, two vice-presidents, and a secretary-treasurer, who with six other active members, and such ex-presidents of the Association as retain their membership therein, shall constitute the Executive Committee. Providing that all ex-presidents who have served on the Executive Committee for six consecutive years shall from and after that time no longer be ex officio members of the Executive Committee.

All officers shall be elected at the annual meeting and shall hold office for one year or until their successors are elected and have qualified, providing, however, that at the first election held hereunder two members of the Ex-

ecutive Committee shall be elected for one year, two for two years, and two for three years, and that hereafter two members of the Executive Committee shall be elected annually to hold office for three years; the Executive Committee shall have general charge of the affairs of the Association including the calling of meetings and selection of papers to be read. Five members of the Executive Committee shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

#### V — MEETINGS

A regular annual meeting and a mid-year meeting of the Association shall be held on such dates and at such places as the Executive Committee may determine.

#### VI — DUES

The annual dues for individual active members shall be one dollar. The annual dues for library members shall be two dollars. Sustaining members — either individuals or institutions — shall pay five dollars annually. Any individual may become a life member upon the payment of fifty dollars.

#### VII — AMENDMENTS

This Constitution may be amended at any regular meeting, notice of such amendment having been given at a previous meeting, or the proposed amendment having received the approval of the Executive Committee.



OFFICERS OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY  
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION FOR  
THE YEAR 1914-15

PRESIDENT

ISAAC J. COX, PH. D.

*Professor of History, University of Cincinnati*

FIRST VICE PRESIDENT

GUY STANTON FORD, PH. D.

*Dean of the Graduate School, University of Minnesota*

SECOND VICE PRESIDENT

FREDERIC L. PAXSON, PH. D.

*Professor of American History, University of Wisconsin*

SECRETARY-TREASURER

CLARENCE S. PAINE

*Secretary of the Nebraska State Historical Society*

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

In addition to above-named officers

(EX-PRESIDENTS)

CLARENCE W. ALVORD, PH. D.

*Professor of History, University of Illinois*

ORIN G. LIBBY, PH. D.

*Secretary of the State Historical Society of North Dakota*

BENJAMIN F. SHAMBAUGH, A. M., PH. D.

*Superintendent of the State Historical Society of Iowa*

ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN, LL. B.

*Professor of History, University of Chicago*

JAMES A. JAMES, PH. D.

*Professor of History, Northwestern University*

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(ELECTED)

WILLIAM BEER

*Librarian of Howard Memorial Library, New Orleans, Louisiana*

CLARENCE E. CARTER, PH. D.

*Professor of History, Miami University*

JOHN BARBER WHITE

*President of Kansas City Historical Society*

EDGAR R. HARLAN

*Curator of Historical Department of Iowa*

MILO M. QUAIFE, PH. D.

*Superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*

WILLIAM E. CONNELLEY

*Secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society*

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE TEACHERS'  
SECTION OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY  
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION FOR  
THE YEAR 1914-15

CHAIRMAN

KARL F. GEISER, PH. D.  
*Professor of History, Oberlin College*

SECRETARY

HOWARD C. HILL, A. M.  
*Professor of History, State Normal School, Milwaukee, Wisconsin*

MEMBERS

SARA FINDLAY RICE, A. M.  
*Professor of History, State Teachers College, Cedar Falls, Iowa*

J. NELSON KELLY, A. M.  
*Superintendent of City Schools, Grand Forks, North Dakota*

OLIVER M. DICKERSON, PH. D.  
*Professor of History, State Normal School, Winona, Minnesota*

DANA C. MUNRO, A. M.  
*University of Wisconsin*



**THE EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MIS-  
SISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION  
APRIL 22-24, 1915**



THE EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION  
APRIL 22-24, 1915

The eighth annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was held at New Orleans, Louisiana, April 22-24, 1915. A program was presented which was very creditable to the committee which arranged it, and the attendance was all that the most hopeful could have expected. The social features of the meeting did credit to the hospitality of the entertainers and contributed much to the enjoyment of those members who found it possible to attend.

Most of the members in attendance from the North met at Memphis on the morning of April 21 and traveled together to Jackson, Mississippi, where they were the guests of Mr. and Mrs. Dunbar Rowland of the Department of Archives and History. After spending some time in the offices, library, and museum of the department they were entertained at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Rowland, where they were afforded the opportunity of meeting many prominent people of Jackson. In the late evening the journey was continued to New Orleans. On the return trip many of these northern visitors, under the guidance of Dr. Rowland, visited at Natchez and Vicksburg.

Convention headquarters were maintained at the Hotel Grunewald in New Orleans and the sessions were held at the Hotel, the Cabildo, and at Gibson Hall, Tulane University.

FIRST SESSION

The first session was held at 10 o'clock A. M., Thursday, April 22, at the Hotel Grunewald. The meeting was

called to order by William Beer. An invocation was offered by Rev. A. O. Brown, who then led the audience in singing "America." Mr. Beer then introduced President Isaac J. Cox who took the chair. President Robert Sharp of Tulane University delivered an informal address of welcome. The first paper on the program was by William E. Dunn of the University of Texas. His subject was "Spanish Reaction against the French Advance toward New Mexico." A paper by H. S. Halbert of the Alabama Department of Archives and History entitled "Shatala. Notes on a Chickasaw Town Name," was read by title, as was also the paper on the "Beginnings of West Florida," by Clarence E. Carter of Miami University. Miss Elizabeth Howard West of the Carnegie Library, San Antonio, Texas, was to have read a paper on "The Indian Policy of Bernardo de Galvez," but owing to her absence the paper was read by title. Another important paper also read by title was by Wilbur H. Siebert of Ohio State University, on the subject, "The Loyalists in West Florida and the Natchez District." The session was concluded with the paper of H. H. Maurer of Sophie Newcomb College on "Foreign Influence in American History and Politics."

At 1:30 o'clock, P. M., the delegates and visitors were taken in carriages to the City Hall where they were received by Mayor Martin Behrman and members of the city commission in the mayor's parlors. After a short address of welcome by the mayor, which was responded to by President Cox, refreshments were served and an hour was spent in social intercourse.

#### SECOND SESSION

At 2:30 o'clock, P. M., the second session convened at the Cabildo. In the absence of Gov. Earl Brewer, who was to have presided, the chair was occupied by President Cox. Before beginning the regular program the



president announced the appointment of the following committees:

Resolutions — St. George L. Sioussat, Nashville, Tennessee, Charles Moore, Detroit, Michigan, and William E. Dunn, Austin, Texas.

Auditing — William O. Hart, New Orleans, Louisiana, Luther A. Brewer, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, and William E. Connelley, Topeka, Kansas.

Nominations — Clarence W. Alvord, Urbana, Illinois, William Beer, New Orleans, Louisiana, and James E. Winston, Oxford, Mississippi.

The paper of John Wilson Townsend, Lexington, Kentucky, "Horace Holley, LL.D. The Third President of Old Transylvania," was read by title. Miss Stella Herron of the New Orleans Normal School read a paper on "The African Apprentice Bill." The paper on "The Vigilance Committees of the Attakapas Country, or Early Louisiana Justice," by Henry L. Griffin of Southwestern Louisiana Industrial Institute, was read by title. A paper on "The Attitude of the Newspapers of the United States toward Texan Independence," by James E. Winston of the University of Mississippi, followed. The session was concluded with a paper on "Memphis as a Gateway of the West, a Study in Transportation," by St. George L. Sioussat of Vanderbilt University.

#### THIRD SESSION

The third session convened at the Cabildo at 8 o'clock P. M. This was a joint session of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association and the Louisiana Historical Society, with President Gaspar Cusachs of the Louisiana Historical Society presiding. The program opened with the annual address of President Cox on "The New Invasion of the Goths and Vandals." "A Note on the Organization of the Oldest School for Girls in the Mississippi Valley," by Miss Caroline Francis Richardson of

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Sophie Newcomb College, and a paper on "The Black Code," by James J. McLoughlin of New Orleans, concluded the evening program. James Alton James of Northwestern University, who was to have read a paper on "New Orleans and the First Years of the American Revolution" was unavoidably absent.

Following the program a smoker was held at the Round Table Club for members of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, while the visiting ladies were entertained by the ladies of the Southern Women's Economic and Political Association at Sophie Newcomb College.

### FOURTH SESSION

The session was called to order at 9 o'clock A. M., Friday, April 23, at the Cabildo, President Isaac J. Cox presiding. The first paper was read by Archer B. Hulbert of Marietta College, on "Yankee Shipbuilding on the Ohio before the Embargo." A paper by George Byron Merrick, on "Joseph Reynolds and the Diamond Jo Line Steamers, 1862-1911" was read by title. William O. Scroggs of the Louisiana State University presented a paper on "Rural Life in the Lower Mississippi Valley about 1803." The regular program was concluded with a paper by Melvin J. White of Tulane University on "Louisiana and the Secession Movement in the Early Fifties."

The regular business of the Association was then taken up. The report of the secretary-treasurer was first presented and on motion of Clarence W. Alvord was adopted. Under the head of reports of committees William H. Shepard, chairman of the Committee on State History as a Part of the High School Curriculum, reported that the committee had been slowly assembling data on the subject but that the material gathered was not sufficient to make a report. He stated that many schools had failed to report but that tangible results were con-

fidently expected. He asked to have the committee continued and promised a report later.

Chairman James F. Willard of the Committee on The Establishment of Departments of State History in State Universities wrote that the report of his committee was about ready for final revision but could not be completed in time for this meeting.

The report of the Committee on the Certification of High School Teachers of History was put over until Saturday forenoon to be presented at the meeting of the Teachers' Section.

A report of the Committee on the Administration of Historical Societies, by Chairman O. G. Libby, was presented by William E. Connelley, a member of the committee, as follows:

The Committee on Administration of Historical Societies submits the following brief report of progress. In response to a questionnaire replies from fourteen states indicate great diversity in statutory provision and in the application of law to local needs. The majority of the historical societies responding to the inquiry have a greater or less connection with the state administration and a considerable number have in addition some affiliation with the state university. A few of the long-established historical societies have worked out a satisfactory plan of administration and of affiliation with various state activities. From the majority of the states, however, the replies indicate that their present status is uncertain and there seems to be no prospect for improvement.

A fair proportion of the historical societies seem to have adjusted themselves to the local needs and are serving their constituencies in a manner that promises well for the future. Your committee desire to recommend the following:

1. That a report be prepared indicating the most generally successful form of organization for a historical society, giving in detail the reasons for and against the various features suggested.

2. That the lines of activity at present followed by the older and more successful historical societies be presented in

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concise form with reasons for choice of field in each case. For those societies yet undecided as to their line of activity or who have not sufficient funds, this presentation might serve as a suggestion and possibly as an inspiration. Such a report might also bring about coöperation of neighboring states in some common problems of research or of publication.

Your committee desires to add that a very considerable mass of information has been collected covering the whole field of administration. It is the hope of its chairman that much of this may find its way into the next report of the committee.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

The Committee on the Standardization of Historical Society Publications through its chairman, Dunbar Rowland, reported progress.

William E. Connelley, a member of the Committee on Historic Sites, presented a preliminary report of that committee signed by the chairman, Orin G. Libby, as follows:

Your committee submit the following preliminary report and suggest action on the recommendations appended thereto:

A questionnaire was sent to twenty-four of the states in the Mississippi Valley and a very considerable number of replies was received. The activity of the states with reference to the preservation of historic sites varies too greatly to admit of the drawing of any conclusions of service to the Association. It is apparent, however, that there is an excellent opportunity here to coöperate effectively for the promotion of better work in the future. Your committee recommend the following policy to be adopted by the Association and to be carried out by the Committee on Historic Sites, as far as practicable.

1. That each state develop a central agency for the creation of state parks and reserves and for the preservation and marking of historic sites, this agency to be vested by law with general supervision of this entire field and receive such state aid as may be deemed adequate.

2. That the committee be authorized to use the following open letter for the securing of greater accuracy in the placing of inscriptions upon historic monuments and markers and that

it be authorized to appoint such subcommittees as may be necessary to carry out the general suggestion herein contained:

The Historic Sites Committee of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association invites your coöperation in extending the interest in the preservation of historic sites and in accurately locating and marking them. We especially desire to enlist your aid in selection and preparation of correct inscriptions upon the monuments and markers erected within your state.

Are you intending to erect a memorial commemorating some historic event in early state or territorial history? If so, we should be glad to render you such assistance as lies in our power, either by consulting the records for exact information as to dates and events and for the spelling of names or by verifying locations and other geographical facts which are quite essential elements in the value of any memorial. Do you know of any resident in your state who is intending in the near future to erect any marker, statue, or other memorial upon a historic site? If so will you kindly send us his name and address? Will you favor us with the names and addresses of the president and secretary of such local organizations as are interested in the work of locating and marking historic sites? Thus in time a permanent directory for the whole Mississippi Valley will be compiled, giving the detailed information necessary for the coördination of so important an interstate movement. Your assistance is earnestly requested in making this undertaking a working reality.

3. That the committee be instructed to secure from the various states represented in this Association suggestions as to feasible lines of interstate coöperation such as is admirably illustrated by the recent marking of the Santa Fé Trail.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

It was moved and seconded that the report be adopted and the recommendations of the committee be approved. After an informal discussion, participated in by William O. Hart, Gaspar Cusachs, St. George L. Siousat, Archer B. Hulbert, and others, it was moved by Mr. Hart as a substitute, that the general scheme outlined be approved but that the work proposed be carried on pri-



marily by the state historical societies, state departments of archives, or other similar organizations. A motion to adopt the substitute was seconded and carried.

William O. Hart for the La Salle Memorial Association reported that it had been impossible to secure the attendance of a quorum at the meeting of the committee and requested that the committee be continued; and that the Association authorize four members of such committee to act as a quorum. It was moved and seconded that four members of the committee of the La Salle Memorial Association should constitute a quorum for the transaction of business. Carried.

Clarence W. Alvord reported informally for the Publication Committee and the Board of Editors of the *Review*.

Edward C. Page presented a letter which had been received by the Secretary from Charles D. Hazen, chairman of the Program Committee of the American Historical Association as follows:

April 17, 1915.

MY DEAR MR. PAINE:

I am in receipt of copy of the resolutions adopted by the Mississippi Valley Historical Association on December 31, 1914, urging a Teachers' Conference at the meeting of the American Historical Association in Washington next December. The Committee on Program is of the opinion that such a conference is desirable, and that a good subject for consideration would be the request of the College Entrance Examination Board for a more precise definition of the history requirement. This question is under consideration by the committee of the American Historical Association, of which Professor Ferguson is chairman. The same subject is being handled by a committee of the Middle States and Maryland History Teachers' Association; also by a committee of the New England History Teachers' Association, and also, I understand, by a committee of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. The subject is manifestly one of very general interest and of the first importance. We should, of course, have both college and high-school teachers in the dis-

cussion. I am writing to ask if your Association would be willing to select two persons to participate in such a joint conference.

Very truly yours,

CHARLES D. HAZEN

Mr. Page moved that President Cox be authorized to name two members to participate in the joint conference proposed. Motion seconded and carried.

President Cox appointed Wayland J. Chase, Madison, Wisconsin, and Eugene M. Violette, Kirksville, Missouri. Mr. Chase being unable to serve, Mr. Cox later appointed Henry E. Bourne, Cleveland, Ohio.

On motion of Clarence W. Alvord the following pending amendment to the Constitution was adopted:

*Resolved*, That paragraph one of Article IV of the Constitution be amended by the addition of the following words:

"Providing that all ex-presidents who have served on the Executive Committee for six consecutive years shall from and after that time no longer be ex officio members of the Executive Committee."

The report of the Auditing Committee was then presented by William O. Hart, chairman, as follows:

April 23, 1915.

We have examined the books and vouchers of C. S. Paine, treasurer of the Association and business manager of the *Review*, and find the same correct, and we desire to compliment the treasurer on the neatness with which his accounts have been kept.

Respectfully submitted,

WILLIAM O. HART, *chairman*

LUTHER A. BREWER

WILLIAM E. CONNELLEY

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

The report of the Committee on Resolutions was presented by Chairman St. George L. Sioussat, as follows:

We, the officers and members of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, assembled in the eighth annual meeting of the Association, felicitate ourselves upon the good fortune which has led us to the city of New Orleans. Nature has been kind,

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welcoming us to the Southland with bright skies and cool breezes. The arrangement of our activities has mingled with occasions for serious work opportunities for visiting places of especial historic interest in this historic city, and repeated manifestation of that charm in social entertainment which has ever marked the citizens of New Orleans. In all these plans we recognize the thoughtful care of the several committees which have arranged the program of this meeting and have had in charge our entertainment and our comfort; and both to the ladies and to the gentlemen who have thus freely given their time and their labor we make our respectful and grateful acknowledgments. We wish also to express our appreciation of the cordial welcome given to us by the chief executive of the city of New Orleans.

To the president and members of the Louisiana Historical Society we render especial acknowledgment for their kind invitation to hold this meeting in New Orleans, for their interest in our joint session, and for the polite attention of members of the Society in guiding us in our walk in the Vieux Carre.

For further manifestations of hospitality we thank the Tulane University, the Sophie Newcomb College, and the Boston Club. To the president and members of the Round Table Club we are indebted for a delightful evening's entertainment, as also to the ladies of the Southern Woman's Economic and Political Association, and to those of Tulane University. We thank the Board of Dock Commissioners for a most interesting and refreshing trip on the river and the opportunity to observe the wonderful harbor facilities of New Orleans.

We cannot conclude these resolutions without including, also, a word of acknowledgment of the courtesies extended to those members of the Association who have journeyed from the upper part of the Mississippi Valley by the Department of Archives and History of the state of Mississippi.

ST. GEORGE L. SIOUSSAT, *chairman*

W. E. DUNN

CHARLES MOORE

On motion the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Clarence W. Alvord proposed the following resolution and moved its adoption:



*Whereas*, It seems unadvisable to establish in this Association the policy of elevating to the presidency the vice-presidents; therefore be it

*Resolved*, That in future those persons who have been elected vice-presidents of the Association shall be ineligible to the office of president until after two years shall have elapsed from the close of their period of service.

After some discussion, participated in by Mr. Alvord, William O. Hart, and others, the resolution was adopted.

Chairman Clarence W. Alvord then presented the report of the Nominating Committee recommending for:

President, Dunbar Rowland; first vice-president, St. George L. Sioussat; second vice-president, Charles Moore; secretary-treasurer, Clarence S. Paine; members of the Executive Committee for a term of three years, Melvin J. White and James F. Willard.

Luther A. Brewer moved that the report of the committee be adopted, that the rules be suspended, and that the secretary be instructed to cast the ballot for the nominees of the committee. The motion was seconded and carried. The ballot being cast, President Cox declared the foregoing elected to the offices and for the terms named.

Gaspar Cusachs offered the following resolution for the amendment of the Constitution:

*Resolved*, That article VI of the Constitution be amended to read:

"The annual dues for individual or library members shall be three dollars. Sustaining members — either individuals or institutions — shall pay five dollars annually. Any individual may become a life member upon the payment of fifty dollars."

On motion the resolution was referred to the Executive Committee.

William O. Hart presented to the Association a photograph of the historic Pakenham house, which was accepted by President Cox.

Upon the conclusion of the business session members

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and visitors were escorted over old New Orleans by members of the Louisiana Historical Society, and at 2 o'clock, P. M., were the guests of the local committee on a river excursion. Returning at 4 o'clock, tea was served to visiting ladies at Sophie Newcomb College from 4 to 6 o'clock, P. M.

At 8 o'clock a reception to visiting members was held at the library of Tulane University. This reception proved so interesting that the evening program was entirely dispensed with, partly owing to the fact that the principal speaker of the evening, Gen. John Lee Webster, was unable to be present.

#### SESSION OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

(Held at the Cabildo, New Orleans, 9 o'clock, A. M., April 24, 1915)

At a called meeting of the Executive Committee held at the Cabildo, 9 o'clock, A. M., April 24, there were present, Isaac J. Cox, Clarence W. Alvord, William Beer, William E. Connelley, Melvin J. White, Charles Moore, St. George L. Sioussat, and, by invitation, Luther A. Brewer. After a statement by Mr. Alvord, and upon his recommendation, it was unanimously voted to allow the secretary the sum of \$500 annually as business manager of the *Review*, to be paid out of any funds available, provided, however, that there shall be no individual responsibility for such payment.

On motion Clarence W. Alvord, James A. James, and Walter L. Fleming were unanimously reelected as members of the Board of Editors of the *Review* for a term of three years.

#### FIFTH SESSION

##### Teachers' Section

The session convened at the Cabildo at 9:30 o'clock, A. M. In the absence of Chairman Karl F. Geiser, President Cox of the Association presided. Before tak-

ing up the regular program Chairman Cox appointed the following as the Nominating Committee of the Teachers' Section: Walter L. Fleming, Miss Stella Herron, and Clarence S. Paine. The first paper was by Milledge L. Bonham, Jr., of the Louisiana State University "Recent History: To What Extent to the Exclusion of Other History?" "Guarding our Future History" was the subject of a paper by Alfred D. St. Amant of the Louisiana State Normal School. Edward C. Page of the Northern Illinois State Normal School told "How the Museum of History Works." The formal program was concluded by Frederick V. Emerson of the Louisiana State University, whose subject was "Geographic Influences in the Mississippi Valley." All of these papers were quite generally but informally discussed.

The Committee on Nominations for officers of the Teachers' Section reported as follows:

For chairman, Oliver M. Dickerson, Winona, Minnesota; for secretary, Howard C. Hill, Milwaukee, Wisconsin; for members of the Executive Committee for a term of three years, Miss Stella Herron, New Orleans, Louisiana, and Jonas Viles, Columbia, Missouri.

It was moved and seconded that the report of the Committee be adopted, and the foregoing be elected to the offices and for the terms named. Carried.

The report of the Committee on the Certification of High School Teachers of History, formulated by Wayland J. Chase, chairman, was presented by St. George L. Sioussat, a member of the Committee, who reviewed its work and gave a synopsis of the report, which is printed in full herewith:

The report of Professor Paxson's Committee on the Certification of High School Teachers of History, presented at Omaha, May 8, 1913 (*History Teacher's Magazine*, June, 1913, 169), having reviewed the general aspects of the question as to what the content of the college course of the prospective teacher of history should be, asserts that the training of the high-school

teacher of history should be directed by a college of liberal arts and that the mastery of his subject is the prime necessity of the prospective teacher; that specific training for his teaching should be confined to the later years of the college course; and that courses for this training should include psychology, the history and theory of education, and school administration. With regard to the amount and sort of work that the mastery of the subject requires the report declares that from twenty-five to forty points of a total of 120 may be asked for history studies, so distributed that twelve shall be given to general survey courses, of which one shall be in American history, and about twenty to advanced courses. Further, it affirms that the training of the teacher of history should include a course directed to the study of the special problems that the teaching of history in the high school presents, with a credit value of from two to four points. To our committee was delegated the enquiry as to what this special course on methods of teaching history in the high school shall consist of.

The warrant for such departmental teachers' courses is obviously in the fact that the different high-school subjects present each its own teaching problems, with which it is essential that the student teacher become acquainted and to which he must be taught to apply effectively the principles and the accepted theories of education. Such courses for prospective teachers would, it is believed, find justification whenever and wherever a trained body of high-school teachers was deemed necessary to society. At this time it seems especially essential that all that the experience of generations of teachers can give toward the equipment of the novice should be given, since statistics show that the great bulk of the instruction of high-school pupils is given by teachers who gain for themselves but slight experience of teaching, the professional life of the average high-school teacher being limited to but a few years. There is, indeed, even more truth than humor in the recent characterization of teaching in the high school as "a procession rather than a profession."

Our committee feels strongly the folly of expecting that the teaching problems of the high school can be interpreted and met in these courses by instructors who have not had first-hand

experience with them and so we declare our conviction that there is no element of content of teachers' training courses so important as the teaching experience of the instructor who gives the course; and it is, therefore, urged as of paramount importance that only those be appointed to this work who can bring to it mature experience in teaching in and close acquaintance with the problems of the high school.

These teachers' courses are not primarily designed to extend the knowledge of the student about the subject of his major or minor study. All the time of a two-credit semester course is needed to achieve the aim of imparting knowledge of method and giving facility in the use of it, yet it would be a mistake to think that those who receive the university teacher's certificate do not need strengthening in the field of knowledge of their subject. Most of the courses which they have been required to take in the university in their major subject, history, are in sections of the field far remote from the high-school divisions of the subject, and do not afford close acquaintance with the high-school material and field. The expectation that because of the power gained from such courses the novice at teaching can acquire the necessary intimacy with the high-school aspects of his subject progressively as he teaches it is often not fulfilled because school systems commonly require of him six or seven recitations a day, some of them in subjects for which slight or no preparation has been had. There are lacking, therefore, to the teacher working under these conditions, both time and strength to get, concurrently with his teaching, the knowledge he needs. It is believed, therefore, that sooner or later the need must be recognized of supplementing this course on methods by the addition of another which shall give students at the end of their senior year a closer acquaintance with the content and material of the high-school field of the subject, both as to textbook and collateral reading.

Though teaching is an art and methods must vary with the individual teacher, yet the following are judged to be elements essential to every course in method:

- I. Consideration of those topics a knowledge of which gives the prospective teacher his bearings in his special field of teaching. These would include: (1) the



- values of his subject as a high-school study; (2) the place to which it is entitled in the curriculum; (3) the definition of the content and scope of the high-school units of the subject, and the relation of history in the high school to history in the grades; (4) the aims of the teacher of the subject; (5) the endeavor to inculcate proper ideals as to effort and achievement on the part of the high-school pupils.
- II. Consideration of method of teaching history, which would include the examination of the special problems presented and the application to them of the accepted theories of teaching. Observation work would have its special service here.
  - III. The acquainting of the prospective teacher with the special tools which are required for the teaching of this subject.
  - IV. The giving the prospective teacher practice in applying this theory and handling these tools, this practice being distinct from, though preliminary to, whatever practice teaching with high-school pupils may be provided.
  - V. Practice work, that is, directed teaching of pupils of high-school age.

The agencies used to achieve these ends would be: (1) lectures; (2) study of a textbook, such as the *Report of the Committee of Seven*, together with the *Report of the Committee of Five*, or Bourne's *The Teaching of History and Civics*; (3) reading as suggested by accompanying list, aggregating 1,000 pages; (4) student reports and class discussions; (5) observation of teaching; (6) practice work, including both the preparation of various sorts of recitation material and the conduct of recitations under guidance.

This course on method should be much more than a purveyor of information, exceedingly important though it is to put the prospective teacher into touch with the experience of generations of teachers. It should seek to kindle zeal for social service, of which teaching must be recognized as the most potent instrument. It should magnify the calling of teacher and exalt the values that the study of history possesses for the high-school

pupil: to the end that the teacher may take so seriously both his office and his task that he may have strong convictions respecting them and the courage of these convictions, and thus be both enlightened as to what high-school pupils may fairly be expected to do and steadfast in opposition to that not infrequent local opinion which would reduce pupil effort and industry to impotent terms.

In securing adequate effort from his pupils there are involved both quantity and quality of industry, and the prospective teacher must be brought to realize that his pupils must get from him both motive and guidance in the study of the history lesson. He must be made to see that for immature students the reading of history is not identical with nor equivalent to the study of history, and must therefore put into his assigning of the history lesson those features which shall make the assigned task clear, explicit, challenging, and thought-provoking. As the textbook is the chief basis of method for inexperienced teachers, instruction in the teacher's use of the textbook will, therefore, be an important element of the course, and as a feature of this instruction the students should be required to assign lessons, and these efforts should receive classroom consideration and discussion.

The paramount necessity of collateral reading for high-school pupils has been denied occasionally, but never successfully. Yet it is a feature of the work in which failure is very common. Careful instruction of the novice is needed here that he may see clearly the prerequisites of success for him in this field — first of all that he himself has the mastery of the material which he requires his pupils to read, and that he selects that which is really profitable for them; then that in making his requirements of his pupils in collateral reading he reckon duly with the time that he may rightfully require of them, their lack of experience in using books, the difficulties consequent upon a scarcity or relative inaccessibility of the books referred to, and the necessity of the utilization of such "follow-up" devices as shall secure that setting the task is followed by the performance of it. He should know what the most serviceable books for supplementary reading in the high school are, and should be required to get acquainted with these. The source-material side of this

supplementary reading should receive consideration in the course, to the end that its usefulness for illumination and vitalizing the subject and as basis for profitable study may be appreciated and turned to full account. Practice work in assigning illustrative lessons on such source material as the Declaration of Independence and the Magna Charta will aid in giving significance to these features of the course.

Geography's relation to history should receive consideration, and the course should seek to give the student acquaintance with the best available tools for pupil and teacher in this important field. So, too, in the field of illustrative material instruction should be given both as to what is available and most serviceable and how it may be used to the best advantage.

The general topic — the conduct of the recitation in history — presents many important aspects of study involved in the application to work in history of the general principles of education. Specific features of this are the possibilities of written work, including the uses of the blackboard; the special problems of method presented by special phases of the subject, e. g., military history, national finance, etc.; the uses of the pupil's notebook; recitation devices for securing variety and arousing fresh interest; the first recitations of the new year — their special problems and opportunities.

Directed observation by the students of successful teachers as they conduct recitations is considered an important element of the course, and it is the judgment of the committee that six observations, of which at least three should be consecutive in the subject, shall be considered a satisfactory minimum requirement in a semester course; that these observations, to be most effective, should come in the second half of the semester, and should be made according to directions explicitly given, and should be reported upon either at conference with the instructor of the teachers' course or in writing.

Most teachers of history are called upon to teach the high-school course in civil government. Therefore it is generally necessary that in this course on method a special reference be made to the aims, problems, and method of teaching civics.

Acquaintance with the high-school textbooks of history and civics should also be promoted, with helpful direction in evaluat-



ing them. To give concreteness to much of the foregoing instruction and to secure practical preparedness in one element of the teacher's task, students of the course may be required to work out a semester's plan of work in any one field of high-school history with such detail that a working plan for each day may be secured.

Finally, since in this field of action the best way to learn to do is by doing, wherever possible practice work (directed teaching) should be a feature of this teachers' course and facilities for it should be provided so that it may be done after the theories of teaching the subject have been laid down; opportunity for this should be furnished in such amount that each student assigned to it may have at least a week's consecutive practice with high-school pupils.

Appended is a detailed outline of this course, together with a bibliography valuable for the student.

WAYLAND J. CHASE, chairman

GUERNSEY JONES	FRANK H. HODDER	CARL C. ECKHARDT
SAMUEL B. HARDING	LAWRENCE M. LARSON	A. C. KREY
WILLIAM E. DODD	NORMAN M. TRENHOLME	HENRY W. ELSON
PAUL C. PHILLIPS	HENRY E. BOURNE	ST. GEO. L. SIOUSSAT
HARLOW LINDLEY	JAMES E. WINSTON	FREDERIC DUNCALF
DAVID Y. THOMAS		

## SUGGESTION OF COURSE ON METHODS OF TEACHING HISTORY

The general purposes of the high school and the values of the study of history in their bearing on these: so, the aims of the teacher of history in the high school.

The place of history in the curriculum of the high school together with an enquiry as to the scope and content of high-school blocks of history.

The special demands made by this subject on the teacher of it.

What does studying a history lesson mean?

The use of the textbook.

Practice work in assigning a textbook lesson.

The use of source material in the high school.

Practice work in assigning lesson in source material.

Collateral reading — what to use and how to use it.

Geography's relation to history. Maps and map-work.

Pictures — what to use and how to use them.

Practice work in assigning a lesson on picture material.

The possibilities of written work, including uses of the blackboard.

The history recitation. Direction of observation work.

Special problems of method, presented by special phases of the subject, e. g., military history, national finance, etc.

The special problems of civics teaching.

Comparison of textbooks.

Devices for arousing interest.

Report from prospective teacher as to best books for collateral reading.

The first recitations of new year — their special problems and opportunities.

Student's formation of plan of semester work in any one field of high-school history.

Pupils' reports on observation work.

Practice work in conducting recitation.

## LIST OF READINGS FOR TEACHERS' COURSE

1. Allen, J. W., *The Place of History in Education*.
2. Amer. Polit. Science Assoc., *Proceedings*, 1908.
3. Andrews, Gambrill & Tall: *A Bibliography of History*.
4. Baker, *History in Fiction*. 2 vols.
5. Barnes, *Studies in Historical Method*.
6. Bourne, *The Teaching of History and Civics*.
7. Cannon, *Reading References for English History*.
8. Channing, Hart, and Turner, *Guide to the Study and Reading of American History*.
9. Diesterweg, *Methods of Teaching History*.
10. Fling, *Outline of Historical Method*.
11. Hall, *Methods of Teaching History*.
12. Harrison, *The Meaning of History*.
13. Hartwell, *The Teaching of History*.
14. Hinsdale, *How to Study and Teach History*.
15. Historical Association Leaflets, 1-12.
16. Historical Association Leaflets, 13-17.
17. *History Teacher's Magazine*, vols. I-V.
18. Indiana Univ. Bulletin, vol. VII, no. 8, *History Teaching in the High School*.
19. Indiana Univ. Studies, no. 17, *Materials, Methods and Administration*.
20. Jaeger, *The Teaching of History*.
21. Johnson, *History in the Elementary School*.
22. Johnston and others, *High School Education*.
23. Keatinge, *Studies in the Teaching of History*.
24. Kemp, *An Outline of Method in History*.
25. Langlois & Seignobos, *Introduction to the Study of History*.
26. Lecky, *The Political Value of History*.
27. Lecky, *Historical and Political Essays*.
28. McMurry, *Special Method in History*.
29. Maitland, etc., *Essays on Teaching of History*.

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30. New England History Teachers' Association, *Outline for the Study of American Civil Government*.

31. Report of the Committee of Five, *The Study of History in the Schools*.

32. Report of the Committee of Seven, *The Study of History in the Schools*.

33. Report of the Committee of Eight, *The Study of History in the Elementary Schools*.

34. Report of the Committee on Secondary School Studies Nat'l Education Assoc., 1892.

35. Report of a Select Committee, *Historical Sources in the Schools*.

36. Seward, *Note-Taking*.

37. *Texas History Teachers' Bulletin*, 302.

38. Vincent, *Historical Research*.

39. Wayland, *How to Teach American History*.

**REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-TREASURER**  
(April, 1915)





## REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-TREASURER

(April, 1915)

The work of this Association during the year has been materially affected by the prevailing financial depression which has been felt to a greater or less extent in every section of our country. It has been a little harder than usual to secure new members. There have been more cancellations than ordinarily and collections have been slow. The existing uncertainty in the business world has made it especially difficult to secure advertising patronage for the *Review* and the subscription list has not grown as we would have a right to expect under normal conditions. Yet there appears to be no especial reason for discouragement as to the future of the Association and its activities.

Owing to the early date set for the 1915 meeting the present report covers a period of only eleven months, yet it shows a substantial gain over the preceding twelve months.

The minutes of the Grand Forks meeting have been published in volume VII of the *Proceedings*, just off the press. The publication of this volume was delayed several months owing to causes for which no one was directly responsible, but notwithstanding this delay we are still several months in advance of similar organizations in the publication of our *Proceedings*.

The first official act of President Cox was to name a Program Committee for the Chicago meeting, which was held at the time of the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, Dec. 28-31, 1914. The personnel of this committee was as follows: James A. James, Frederic L. Paxson, and Isaac J. Cox. This meeting was not

really a joint session with the American Association but a conference held at the same time as the conference of archivists, 2 o'clock, P. M., December 31, in the Auditorium Hotel. A program of exceptional merit was presented, with President Isaac J. Cox presiding.

A paper by Royal B. Way of Beloit College, treating of "English Relations in the Northwest, 1789-94," was first on the program. This was followed by a paper, "The Agrarian History of the United States as a Subject for Research," by William J. Trimble, North Dakota Agricultural College. The program was concluded with a discussion on "The Genesis of the Kansas-Nebraska Act," based upon an article by Frank H. Hodder published in the *Proceedings*, 1912, of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. The discussion was led by Professor Hodder, University of Kansas, and Prof. P. Orman Ray, Trinity College. Among those who participated in the discussion were: James A. Woodburn, Indiana University; Mrs. Lois Kimball Matthews, University of Wisconsin; Jonas Viles, University of Missouri; St. George L. Sioussat, Vanderbilt University; Oliver M. Dickerson, State Normal School, Winona, Minn.; and Henry N. Sherwood, La Crosse (Wisconsin) Normal School.

At the conclusion of the regular program the following resolution was presented by Edward C. Page:

*Resolved*, That it is the sense of this meeting that a Teachers' Conference is desirable at the regular meetings of the American Historical Association.

*Resolved*, That the secretary of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association be instructed to communicate the foregoing resolution to the chairman of the Program Committee and to the secretary of the Council of the American Historical Association.

On motion the resolution was adopted.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee, held at the Auditorium Hotel, Chicago, at 8:30 o'clock, A. M., Thurs-

day, December 31, there were present Francis A. Sampson, Clarence W. Alvord, Guy Stanton Ford, Isaac J. Cox, James A. James, Orin G. Libby, and the secretary. At this meeting President Cox was authorized to name a committee of seven on the Recognition of Hereditary Patriotic Societies, this question having been referred to the Executive Committee at the Grand Forks meeting.

It was the sense of the meeting that no attempt should be made to hold a special meeting of the Association at the Panama-Pacific Exposition, and the secretary was instructed to so advise the management. The action of the president in reappointing Eugene C. Barker, Claude H. Van Tyne, and Orin G. Libby as members of the board of editors for a term of three years was approved.

An important feature of the Chicago meeting was the dinner at the Fort Dearborn Hotel at 6:30 o'clock, P. M., December 28. This was intended primarily for members of the various committees of the Association who, however, were privileged to invite their friends. The local arrangements were made under the direction of James A. James. The attendance was good. All of the committees were represented and reports were received from most of them.

Thomas F. Moran, chairman of the Committee on the Teaching of American History in Elementary and Secondary Schools, reported that the committee was making progress and that a full report would be submitted later.

William H. Shepard, who had but recently been appointed as chairman of the Committee on State History as a Part of the High School Curriculum said: That the committee proposed to make inquiry throughout the Middle West as to the extent of the teaching of state history in high schools and normal schools particularly; that it would be important to know what encouragement had been given such study by state educational author-

ities, what manuals, bulletins, or short histories relative to the state had been made available for such teaching; and further whether state history should be given as a separate course or as a part of the course in American history. It was suggested also by Chairman Shepard that secretaries of historical societies could aid considerably in making the sources of their libraries and collections available for the reading and teaching of state history in the secondary schools. A general discussion of the field of work to be covered by the investigation of this committee was led by Eugene M. Violette, who outlined his personal experiences in Missouri. He was followed by James A. Woodburn and Solon J. Buck.

James F. Willard for the Committee on the Establishment of Departments of State History in State Universities reported informally that it was the opinion of the committee that the formation of a distinct department of state history in our state universities is not desirable, but that it is highly desirable that the departments of history as at present constituted should assume certain definite responsibilities with reference to the teaching and investigation of state history.

In order to discover, if possible, how far the departments of history are fulfilling this function an investigation has been made of the courses in state or sectional history offered in the various state institutions. It is found that while state history is frequently not offered, its place is taken by courses on the region in which the university is situated. Of the state universities west of the Allegheny Mountains only Michigan, Kentucky, Tennessee, and New Mexico (Alabama not being accounted for) do not offer courses of either description. It would seem, therefore, that the matter of offering courses is being taken care of, though in the opinion of the committee this does not reach the root of the question at issue. Chairman Willard stated that it was the feeling of the

committee that under the present mandate its work will be done when the final report on this investigation has been made, and asked that the Association consider the question of its discharge at that time.<sup>1</sup>

Wayland J. Chase, chairman of the Committee on the Certification of High School Teachers of History, reported progress. He said that the task the committee had undertaken to perform was to determine what should be the content and scope of the departmental course for the training of teachers, that is to say what the course in methods of teaching history in high schools should cover. Members of the committee, by correspondence, had compared opinions and were looking forward to a meeting when they might compare, discuss, and put their conclusions into shape for a formal report at the next annual meeting.

Eugene M. Violette, chairman of the Committee of Seven on the Place of Normal Schools in Preparing High School Teachers of History, submitted the following preliminary report:

At the meeting of the Association at Omaha in May, 1913, the Committee on Certification of High School History Teachers suggested in its report that the question of the work of normal schools in the preparation of high-school history teachers should receive some special attention. The suggestion was acted upon favorably by the incoming president, Professor James, and a committee of seven normal-school history teachers was appointed by him to take the matter up. The committee was composed as follows: E. M. Violette, Kirksville, Mo., chairman; Sara M. Riggs, Cedar Falls, Ia.; P. M. Williams, Emporia, Kan.; E. C. Page, DeKalb, Ill.; C. N. Anderson, Kearney, Neb.; S. E. Thomas, Charleston, Ill.; and C. E. Pray, Ypsilanti, Mich. The committee proceeded to get out a questionnaire at once and sent it to 150 state normal schools throughout the entire country. City normal schools and teachers' colleges were purposely excluded, as they have been uniformly established for the purpose

<sup>1</sup> For the committee's report, since submitted, see *post*, 61. — Ed.



of preparing elementary teachers and hence would not come within the scope of our inquiry.

Of the 150 blanks sent out, ninety-seven were returned more or less filled out. Some results have been gathered from these returns but as yet the study has not been completed. The final report will be ready during the summer of 1915.

The ninety-seven schools responding fall readily into three classes: (1) Those reporting that they confine themselves strictly to the preparation of elementary and rural teachers; (2) Those that give practically their entire time to the preparation of elementary and rural teachers, and prepare high-school teachers only incidentally; (3) Those that make special effort to prepare high-school teachers as well as elementary and rural teachers. It was found that these three classes are nearly the same in number, there being thirty-one in the first class, thirty-three in the second, and thirty-three in the third.

The thirty-one schools constituting the first class are scattered throughout thirteen states as follows: California, Connecticut, Colorado, Idaho, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New York, New Hampshire, North Dakota, Oregon, Ohio, Rhode Island, and Vermont. California, Minnesota, and Vermont reported that there were legal restrictions in these states preventing the normal schools from attempting to prepare high-school teachers. Of these thirteen states it will be noticed that three are in the Mississippi Valley, while six are in the East and four in the West.

The thirty-three schools constituting the second class are from sixteen states as follows: Alabama, Arkansas, Arizona, Georgia, Illinois, Maryland, Michigan, Maine, New York, New Mexico, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, Virginia, Washington, and West Virginia. Of these seventeen states, five are in the Mississippi Valley while eight are in the East and three in the West.

The thirty-three schools making up the third class are to be found in seventeen different states as follows: Colorado, Iowa, Indiana, Illinois, Kentucky, Kansas, Missouri, Michigan, New York, Nebraska, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Ohio, South Carolina, Texas, Tennessee, and Wisconsin. Of these seventeen states



it is to be particularly noted that thirteen are in the Mississippi Valley while only three are in the East and one in the West.

From this it will be seen that on the whole the normal schools in the eastern and western states are given altogether or very largely to the work of preparing elementary and rural teachers, while those in the Mississippi Valley are undertaking to prepare high-school teachers as well as elementary and rural teachers.

Of the thirty-three schools in class III, seven, and possibly four more, are giving four years or more of college history. Likewise fourteen, and possibly four more, are giving two years or more of college government, economics, and sociology.

In the final report data will be offered on such matters as the equipment of the schools that are attempting to prepare high-school history teachers, the character of the courses that are being given, and the history faculties of these schools. Investigations are now being made by the committee in several states where normal school graduates are engaged in teaching history in high schools as to the success they are having.

Orin G. Libby for the Committee on the Administration of Historical Societies stated that no formal draft of a report had been agreed upon but that certain plans would be made the subject of a future report. He said:

The organization of historical societies contains numerous points of divergence which call for some description and discussion. The best form of association with the state government will be discussed and the various regulations and constitutions covering this point will be described. The relative importance of museum and library work and the part taken by various organizations in educational activities in the state will find a place in the forthcoming report. Your committee feels that there is need of exchange of ideas among those responsible for historical activities in the various states. Especially is the experience of older organizations valuable to those facing for the first time the problems of expenditure and publicity.

Clarence W. Alvord, chairman of the Committee on the Relation of Historical Societies and Departments of

History, spoke briefly and informally on the subject assigned to his committee, dwelling upon the fact that in some states there was a complete union of these two, notably in Iowa and Wisconsin,<sup>2</sup> whereas in others jealousy existed. He then pointed out that the first work of historical societies should be the collection and publication of source material and that they could leave to the departments of history and private historians the monographic studies based upon these subjects. In this way he thought that jealousy could be avoided. Professor Alvord took the position that there should be closer coöperation than generally existed between departments of history and historical societies; that departments of history should make more general use of the collections of historical societies, and that historical societies should avail themselves of the scientifically trained men in the departments of history in general research work.

Dunbar Rowland said that the Committee on the Standardization of Historical Society Publications would present a full report at the next annual meeting.

Charles E. Brown, chairman of the Committee on State Historical Museums, reported as follows:

The committee desires to report that inquiry and personal inspection indicate that steady progress is being made by many of the historical museums identified with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. Several have recently been housed in new buildings and others are occupying additional exhibition space in the buildings in which they are located. Through the meetings of the Association and through personal visits of inspection, made by some of these officers, the curators of these institutions are now becoming acquainted with the character of the work conducted in the various museums, and the long-hoped-for spirit of coöperation is already making itself felt.

A study of the activities of a number of the larger museums shows that they are engaged in increasing the extent and value

<sup>2</sup> In Wisconsin, while the two organizations work in entire harmony, organically they are quite independent of each other. — Ed.

of their collections, improving the methods of museum business administration, installing new collections, holding numerous special exhibitions, distributing literature of an educational character, giving instruction to classes of school children and university students, holding public lectures, and providing generally for the educational advancement and entertainment of the public. Some are conducting historical excursions, engaging in archeological and historical researches, assisting in the organization and management of historical pageants and celebrations, and encouraging the protection and marking of local historical monuments and sites.

The present improvement in and progress of the state historical museums is largely due to the character of the class of men who within the last few years have been appointed to their management by the state societies. It is apparent that one of the chief needs of the historical museums in the near future will be that of securing assistants carefully trained for work in this field. To meet this need it is now highly desirable that a full course of instruction in museology should be given at one or several of our leading western universities. The financial support received by the historical museums from the several states in which they are located should be increased in order that they may further promote the important public educational functions for which they exist.

For the Committee on Historic Sites, Chairman Orin G. Libby reported progress. He said:

Two phases of the forthcoming report will receive special attention. There was referred to your committee at the last annual meeting a special request for the correction of certain inscriptions which were inaccurate both as to date and names. It is proposed to present a plan of coöperation between this committee and such individuals or agencies as have charge of erecting and marking historic monuments. It is further planned to present in as concise form as possible the various state provisions for the preservation and marking of historic sites, and further to give a brief directory of the principal organizations interested in such work. In this way it is hoped that what has been done may be a source of inspiration to public-spirited citi-

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zens in other states to carry on similar work for their own localities.

Professor Libby stated that the most important work accomplished by the committee was the inauguration of a movement for organizing the La Salle Memorial Association to be charged with the duty of erecting a monument to La Salle.

William O. Hart, chairman of the organization Committee of the La Salle Memorial Association, being unavoidably absent, two members of his committee, Howard W. Caldwell and Dunbar Rowland, were called upon and stated that no formal action had yet been taken nor had there been a meeting of the committee but that it was called to meet in New Orleans, April 13.

Otto L. Schmidt, a member of the Advisory Committee of the La Salle Memorial Association, was called upon but said that there appeared to be nothing for the Advisory Committee to do until a formal organization had been completed.

Oliver M. Dickerson, chairman of the Committee on Standardizing Library Work and Library Equipment in Secondary Schools, reported as follows:

This committee was created as a result of a discussion at the meeting at Grand Forks. An investigation of library conditions in Minnesota and other states indicates that equipment for history study is grossly inadequate. It is also evident that such equipment will never be adequate until teachers of history generally can agree upon such a delimitation of the field for library work as to make it physically possible for school boards to secure books of the right kind and in sufficient numbers to supply all the members of the various classes. This committee will endeavor to find out whether history teachers are prepared to agree to such a delimitation of the field.

A discussion of this report was led by St. George L. Sioussat, followed by Howard W. Caldwell, James M. Callahan, and James A. James.

At this point Edward C. Page offered a resolution

requesting the American Historical Association to plan for a regular Teachers' Conference in connection with the program of each annual meeting. Objection being made to its consideration at that time, it was moved by Professor Alvord to lay the resolution on the table. Carried.

Harry B. Mackoy, chairman of the Special Committee on the Recognition of Hereditary Patriotic Societies, was unable to be present but sent a preliminary report which was read by Edgar R. Harlan, a member of this committee.

The Secretary stated for the Committee on Membership that some plans were being considered that it was thought would add very materially to the membership of the Association.

Clarence W. Alvord reported for the Publication Committee and the Board of Editors of the *Review*. As managing editor of the *Review*, Professor Alvord pointed to the accomplishments of the year and expressed a firm belief in the future success of the magazine. He said that many strong and hearty congratulations had been received concerning the progress of the work and that he had received the heartiest coöperation from the editors, and from historical students throughout the Mississippi Valley and even from the East, and that there appeared to be no dearth of material that was worthy of being printed.

President Cox called attention to the request of the *History Teacher's Magazine* for financial support. He also suggested the appointment of a committee to meet with a similar committee of the American Historical Association to consider future relations. An informal discussion of the latter proposition brought out considerable opposition which was voiced by Benjamin F. Shambaugh, Solon J. Buck, and others. Dr. Buck called attention to the program of the Chicago meeting which did not



provide for a joint session as had been agreed. St. George L. Sioussat took issue with what had been said, and suggested that the matter be handled with caution.

It was moved by Professor Sioussat that the sum of \$50 be appropriated for the support of the *History Teacher's Magazine*. It being pointed out that the funds were not available for such an appropriation the motion was tabled.

The first year of the publication of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* has brought some disappointments, especially in the amount of advertising patronage we have been able to secure and the difficulty we have experienced in collecting from some of the guarantors. Then, too, as usual, there have been many expenses that we had not counted on. We have had to draw upon the resources of the Association to the amount of \$135.61 for the support of the *Review* and there is now due \$356.05 in connection with the printing of the last number. There is, however, \$550 due from the guarantors for the year, \$387.50 of which can be had upon call. In every other respect the *Review* has met every expectation and there is every reason to believe that if the guarantors will stand by the proposition for the three years as agreed, the publication will then be entirely self-sustaining.

The work of the committees during the year has been especially commendable. Particular care was taken by President Cox in making up the personnel of these committees and results have indicated that but few mistakes were made.

We have yet to solve the question of the advisability of combining the *Review* and the *Proceedings*, or dispensing entirely with the *Proceedings*, and using the *Review* as the sole medium of publication. Either would appear to the secretary as a backward step, and yet it is apparent that some means must be found of decreasing the expenses of the Association or increasing its revenues. For several years the secretary felt that this was



his problem; now, however, it would seem that the members of the Association should assume the responsibility and devise some plan that will insure the continuance of the work on a safe financial basis.

Owing to the failure of the Executive Committee to elect three members of the Board of Editors of the *Review* at the Grand Forks meeting, President Cox reappointed Eugene C. Barker, Claude H. Van Tyne, and Orin G. Libby, whose terms had expired. Later this action was confirmed by the Executive Committee at a meeting held in Chicago, Dec. 29, 1914, and the three gentlemen above named were elected for the term of three years.

At the Grand Forks meeting an experiment was tried in the holding of a sociology section which was very successful, and at that time the president was authorized to name a committee of three to arrange a program for a sociology section at the 1915 meeting and to consider plans for the permanent organization of such a section. This committee was not named by President Cox for the reason that he was unable to find any one willing to serve in this capacity.

Upon the authority of the Grand Forks meeting, which had referred to the Executive Committee the proposition to coöperate with the hereditary patriotic societies, President Cox named a committee of seven to consider this subject. The following is the personnel of the committee: Harry B. Mackoy, chairman, Covington, Kentucky; R. C. Ballard Thruston, Louisville, Kentucky; Herbert C. Fish, Bismarek, North Dakota; Edgar R. Harlan, Des Moines, Iowa; Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, Springfield, Illinois; Mrs. Dunbar Rowland, Jackson, Mississippi; and Mrs. Adele B. Looscan, Houston, Texas.

The questions for consideration suggested to the committee were as follows:

1. To what extent is coöperation feasible and advisable in the work of identifying and marking historic sites.

2. To what extent is it practicable in connection with historical celebrations?

3. Is there need for additional opportunity to publish occasional addresses before the hereditary societies? Would coöperation as suggested above be likely to improve the character of such addresses? Have you any definite suggestions upon this point?

4. Have the hereditary societies or their members documents of historical value or rare historical pamphlets or books that should be published or reprinted? Do they know that the Mississippi Valley Historical Association has planned to publish such a series? What method of coöperation can you suggest in this field?

5. Would the hereditary patriotic societies be likely to take an active interest in the establishment of a Mississippi Valley fellowship in history? How many (of the eighty odd) societies would be likely to make an annual contribution of twenty-five dollars or more to this cause?

6. (If the above question is answered affirmatively) Should the sum suggested be taken as a unit for basing voting in regard to the disposal of this fund? If not, what sum would you suggest? For what period would you suggest making an experiment of this sort?

7. Should the attempt be made to secure contributions so that a part (say half) of the contribution might be devoted to a permanent fund, the income to be used when it equals the stipend agreed upon?

8. A fellowship to support an ordinary graduate student should not be less than \$500 per year; one to support a mature research specialist should be at least \$1,500 per year, but preferably \$2,000. Which of the above do you consider practicable? Which the more profitable?

9. With societies representing different periods of our history—the colonial, revolutionary, etc., what plan would you suggest for determining the field of work? Would you do this arbitrarily or depend on the applicants each year, awarding the fellowship to the one judged best in each instance, irrespective of the field of work? What should be the outside dates, if any, of the entire field of research?

10. Would it be more feasible to offer, instead of a fellow-

ship, a prize, available once in three or five years, for the best work on the Mississippi Valley appearing during that period? Could such a prize be supplemental to a fellowship system?

11. What suggestions would you make to secure the best results from a system of fellowships and prizes and to provide against failure of the holder of a fellowship to produce results, either from sickness, death, or other cause?

12. Should such a system as this be restricted to the hereditary societies alone? Or should individuals be invited to contribute as well? What name would you suggest for the fund? What form of control would you advise?

After a great deal of correspondence and much urgent solicitation on the part of the promoters of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition it was decided by the Executive Committee that it would not be advisable to attempt to hold a meeting of the Association in San Francisco during the Exposition.

During the year the secretary received from Edgar R. Harlan several items which were supposed to be of special interest to the people of Ohio with the suggestion that the Association act as a clearing house for the distribution of such duplicate material as might come into the hands of any of its members. The Ohio items referred to were forwarded to the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, which was very glad to receive them. It would seem as though this might be made an important feature of the work of the Association and the example of Mr. Harlan is commended to others.

The place of meeting for 1915 was not determined until late in the year when, on the order of the president, a vote of members of the Executive Committee was taken by mail and showed a small majority in favor of New Orleans, with the same city named as the second choice of several others. As soon as the place of meeting had been selected, President Cox, with the advice of local interests, named the following committees:

Arrangements: William Beer, chairman, William O.

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Hart, secretary, Robert Sharp, Miss Grace King, Gaspar Cusachs, William O. Scroggs, Melvin J. White, Alvin P. Howard, Thomas Sloo, and Ernest Lee Jahncke.

Program: William L. Fleming, chairman, Pierce Butler, William R. Manning, St. George L. Sioussat, and Karl F. Geiser.

The late appointment of these committees made the work of presenting a creditable program very difficult. That the Program Committee has acquitted itself with credit is evidenced by the present meeting.

## FINANCIAL STATEMENT, MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Receipts and Disbursements, May 23, 1914-April 17, 1915  
Balance on hand, May 23, 1914 \$ 94.92

### Receipts

Cash receipts from membership dues, contributions, and sale of publications . . . . .	\$1,416.88	
Cash receipts from <i>Review</i> subscriptions, advertising, and guaranty fund . . . . .	1,991.83	3,408.71
Total Receipts . . . . .		<u>\$3,503.63</u>

### Disbursements

#### Account Association

Printing <i>Proceedings</i> . . . . .	\$ 585.50	
Postage and express . . . . .	124.96	
Clerical work . . . . .	241.45	
Printing, miscellaneous . . . . .	90.95	
Office supplies . . . . .	3.70	
Traveling expenses . . . . .	110.86	
<i>Mississippi Valley Historical Review</i> , \$2.00 each for 86 Life and Sustaining members, per resolution adopted May 28, 1914 . . . . .	172.00	
Miscellaneous . . . . .	13.90	
		<u>\$1,343.32</u>

*Account Review*

Printing <i>Review</i> . . . . .	\$1,430.96
Freight and drayage . . . . .	10.34
Postage . . . . .	40.68
Clerical work . . . . .	276.40
Printing, miscellaneous . . . . .	29.55
Editorial office, miscellaneous . . . . .	359.48

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\$2,147.41

Total disbursements . . . . .	\$3,490.73
Balance on hand, April 17, 1915 . . . . .	12.90

## FINANCIAL STATEMENT, MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL

## REVIEW

Receipts and Disbursements, May 23, 1914-April 17, 1915

Balance on hand, May 23, 1914                      \$ 19.97

*Receipts*

Subscriptions . . . . .	\$ 632.20	
Advertising . . . . .	184.63	
Guaranty Fund . . . . .	1,175.00	1,991.83

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Total Receipts . . . . . \$2,011.80

*Disbursements*

Printing <i>Review</i> . . . . .	\$1,430.96	
Freight and drayage . . . . .	10.34	
Postage . . . . .	40.68	
Clerical work . . . . .	276.40	
Printing, miscellaneous . . . . .	29.55	
Editorial office, miscellaneous . . . . .	359.48	135.61

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Total Disbursements . . . . .	\$2,147.41	\$2,147.41
Deficit . . . . .		135.61
Bills payable . . . . .		356.05

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Total indebtedness . . . . . \$ 491.66

Respectfully submitted,

CLARENCE S. PAINE, *Secretary-Treasurer*





## REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DEPARTMENTS OF STATE HISTORY IN STATE UNIVERSITIES

At the third annual meeting of the Association, held at Iowa City in May, 1910, the President was directed to appoint a Committee on the Establishment of Departments of State History in State Universities. This committee was later appointed, its members being C. H. Van Tyne, chairman, Albert Watkins, J. A. Woodburn, Everts B. Greene, and F. M. Anderson. Mr. Greene later succeeded Mr. Van Tyne as chairman, and he in turn was succeeded, in 1914, by the present chairman, James F. Willard. The committee at present consists of Miss Grace R. Hebard, E. B. Greene, J. H. Reynolds, Jonas Viles, J. A. Woodburn, and J. F. Willard.

During the year 1914 there was referred to the committee a resolution introduced at the Grand Forks meeting by the secretary-treasurer and there approved, to the effect that "an elective course in historical investigation offered by the departments of history in the state universities of the Mississippi Valley for which students might register and prepare papers, to be read at the meetings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association or to be printed in its publications, would be a great incentive to history students and investigators."

In order to prepare the way for its recommendations the committee decided upon an investigation of the status of the teaching of state history in the state universities. Because of the fact that some instructors hold that state history lacks intrinsic and relative importance, it was also decided to examine the extent to which regional history has been substituted for state history in the same in-

stitutions. The chairman was directed to undertake these two lines of investigation, the results of which are given below.

It may be that by restricting its investigations to the letter of its mandate the committee has not fulfilled the spirit of its instructions. Indeed it has been suggested that it take under consideration the larger subject of the ways and means of arousing interest in local history. This, however, seems to be inexpedient at present. There are at least two committees of this Association at work on special subjects which have a direct bearing on the larger problem, the Committee on State History as a Part of the High School Curriculum and the Committee on the Relation of Historical Societies and Departments of History. When these have reported it might be desirable to appoint a committee to inquire into the matter of the means used and to be used in interesting the people of the states in their own history. The present report, though restricted in scope, may serve to throw some light upon the subject by showing what the departments of history are doing, through the offering of courses of instruction, to disseminate a knowledge of local history.

#### THE TEACHING OF STATE AND REGIONAL HISTORY

In the preparation of the following tables state institutions only have been considered unless the contrary is stated. West of the Appalachian Mountains only state institutions of university rank have been given any attention. The statements of courses are based upon the announcements made in the catalogues of the various institutions. This latter method of procedure has its obvious disadvantages, which, however, could only have been overcome at the expense of much and seemingly needless correspondence. In a few instances, as will be seen, it was not found possible accurately to determine the credit hours given for a course. In other cases the number of semesters or terms could not be ascertained.

And it is to be feared that the lack of descriptive summaries of some courses may have led to a failure to discover certain courses in regional history. These omissions, if they exist, should not seriously affect the validity of the results of the investigation.

The classification of the state institutions in the tables is based upon the system used by the United States Census Bureau. The courses are undergraduate unless the contrary is stated. The Roman numerals indicate the number of semesters for which the course is offered. Whenever the three-term system is used by an institution, the number of terms is noted. The Arabic numerals indicate the number of credit hours given each semester for work done in the course. Whenever either or both of these indications are missing it was found impossible to get the necessary data upon which an accurate statement could be based. When no mention is made of the fact, the courses are listed in the department of history.

I. State institutions and courses in state history offered, catalogues of 1913-14.

1. North Atlantic Division.

In the catalogues examined no such courses were found.

2. South Atlantic Division.

Delaware College.

Studies in Delaware History. I. 2 or 3.

University of Georgia.

History of Georgia. II. 1.

History of Georgia. II. (?). 3.

University of North Carolina.

North Carolina History. I. 2.

West Virginia University.

History of West Virginia. 1.

3. North Central Division.

University of Illinois.

The History of Illinois. I. 2.

Indiana University.

Seminary in Indiana History. Three terms.  
Graduate.

University of Iowa.

Department of Political Science.

Iowa History and Government. 4.

Introduction to Iowa History. 2.

Iowa History and Politics. 2.

Research in Iowa History. 2 to 10. Graduate.

University of Missouri.

History of Missouri. 1.

University of Nebraska.

Department of Political Science.

Nebraska History and Political Institutions. I.  
2.

Department of History (American).

Seminary on Nebraska History, Politics and  
Economics. II. 2. Undergraduate and grad-  
uate.

University of North Dakota.

History Seminar. II. 2. Undergraduate and  
graduate.

Deals with the history of the state.

University of South Dakota.

South Dakota History. II. 1.

University of Wisconsin.

History of Wisconsin. I. 2.

4. South Central Division.

University of Arkansas.

Reconstruction in Arkansas. Seminar.

Louisiana State University.

History of Louisiana. I. 3.

University of Mississippi.

Local History of Reconstruction in Mississippi.

One term. 3. Undergraduate and graduate.

University of Oklahoma.

History of Oklahoma. 4. Undergraduate and  
graduate.

Seminary in Oklahoma History. 1 or 2. Grad-  
uate.

## 5. Western Division.

University of California.

History of California. II. 2.

University of Colorado.

History of Colorado. I. 2.

University of Montana.

History of Montana. I. 2. Undergraduate and graduate.

Studies in Montana History. II. 1.

University of Nevada.

History of Nevada. II. 1.

Research Course in Nevada History. II. 1.

University of Wyoming.

Department of Political Economy.

Wyoming. II. 3.

## II. State institutions in which no distinctly state history courses were offered, catalogues of 1913-14.

## 1. North Atlantic Division.

University of Maine, New Hampshire College, Cornell University, Pennsylvania State College, Rhode Island State College, University of Vermont.

The states of Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New Jersey not accounted for.

Since it may seem that the state institutions of collegiate or university rank do not adequately represent the higher institutions of this section of the country, the catalogues of Brown, Clark, Columbia, Harvard, Pennsylvania, Princeton and Yale universities, and Dartmouth College were examined. In none of these were courses in state history listed.

## 2. South Atlantic Division.

Universities of Florida, South Carolina, and Virginia. The state of Maryland not accounted for.

## 3. North Central Division.

Universities of Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, and Ohio State University. (It may be that the course, Primitive Man in Ohio, I. 1., should be counted as state history.)

4. South Central Division.

Universities of Kentucky (a part of a History of the United States is said to deal with Kentucky history), Tennessee, and Texas. The University of Alabama not accounted for.

5. Western Division.

Universities of Arizona, Idaho, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, and Washington.

III. State institutions and courses in regional history offered, catalogues of 1913-14.

The standard used in the selection of such courses for classification under this heading needs a word of explanation. Regional has been taken in a rather strict sense of the term and has not been made to include some courses which may possibly appear to have that character. Courses in colonial history have not been classified as regional even when given in institutions located in states whose history goes back to the colonial period. After the same fashion courses dealing with the Civil War and Reconstruction are not counted as regional though offered in institutions of the southern states. In both of these instances the courses cover standard chronological divisions of the history of the country. It is quite possible that local conditions may be emphasized in both cases, but the impossibility of discovering, from a mere reading of catalogue announcements, if this is so, has led to the exclusion of all such courses.

1. North Atlantic Division.

No courses found in the catalogues examined.

2. South Atlantic Division.

University of Georgia.

History of the South. II. 3.

3. North Central Division.

University of Illinois.

The History of the Exploration and Colonization of the West. II. 2. Undergraduate and graduate.

The History of Western Expansion. Graduate.



Indiana University.

Development of the West. Three terms. 3.

University of Iowa.

The Evolution of the Western States. I. 2.

The History of the Old Northwest. I. 2.

The History of the Louisiana Purchase. I. 3.

Seminar in Western American History. II. 2.

Graduate.

University of Kansas.

Seminar in American History. II. 3 or 5. Graduate.

"The subjects for investigation will be taken from the history of the trans-Missouri West."

University of Minnesota.

The West in American History. Undergraduate and graduate.

University of Nebraska.

Land, Laws, and Policy of the United States. II. 3.

"Development of the successive 'wests' . . . .";

The "Finality Years" and the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. II. 2.

University of North Dakota.

History of the Northwest. I. 3. Undergraduate and graduate.

Ohio State University.

The History of the West. II. 3.

University of South Dakota.

History of the West. I. 3.

University of Wisconsin.

History of the West, 1763-1890. II. 3.

Seminary in American History. II. 2. (?)

Graduate.

"The History of the West. . . ."

4. South Central Division.

Louisiana State University.

The South and West. I. 3.

University of Mississippi.

Political History of the South, 1776-1830. One term. 2.

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The South in Federal Politics, 1830-1860. One term. 2.

The South in National Politics, 1860-1910. One term. 2.

All of the above undergraduate and graduate.  
University of Oklahoma.

The West. 4. Undergraduate and graduate.  
University of Texas.

The Spanish Southwest. Undergraduate and graduate.

Southwestern History. Undergraduate and graduate.

5. Western Division.

University of Arizona.

Expansion of the American People. II. 3.

"during the second semester considerable time will be given to the history of the Southwest. . . ."

University of California.

The History of the West. II. 3.

Spain in North America. II. 2.

Southwestern History. II. 2. Graduate.

Pacific Coast History. II. 2. Graduate.

University of Idaho.

The Pacific Northwest. II. 2.

University of Montana.

Expansion of the United States. II. 2. Undergraduate and graduate.

University of Nevada.

Westward Expansion of the United States. II. 2.

History of the Pacific Slope. II. 2.

University of Oregon.

Seminar in Western History. I. 4.

University of Utah.

Western History. I. 2. Graduate.

University of Washington.

Development of the Pacific. I. 3.

Northwestern History. II. 2.

Joint Seminar. II. 2. Graduate.

Problems of Washington and of the Pacific Northwest.

University of Wyoming.

History of the West. II. 3.

IV. State institutions in which neither state nor regional history courses were offered, catalogues of 1913-14.

1. North Atlantic Division.

See the list in table II. The same institutions fail to offer distinctly regional history courses.

2. South Atlantic Division.

Universities of Florida and Virginia. Maryland not accounted for.

3. North Central Division.

University of Michigan.

4. South Central Division.

Universities of Kentucky (see table II. 4) and Tennessee. The University of Alabama not accounted for.

5. Western Division.

University of New Mexico.

Since the above investigation was made the catalogues of the academic year 1914-15 have been issued and examined. In these some few changes were found which indicate no falling off in the interest in state and regional history. These changes are listed below. It has not been considered necessary to repeat the titles of courses if they are to be found in the catalogues of both 1913-14 and 1914-15. Consequently the appended tabulation only refers to courses omitted in the later catalogues and to new courses offered. The list of courses can be completed by reference to the previous tables I and III. Mere changes in the titles of courses are not listed.

V. State institutions and courses in state and regional history, changes in catalogues of 1914-15.

1. North Atlantic Division.

No changes seen. For the names of the institutions see table II.

2. South Atlantic Division.

No changes were found in the catalogues of the universities of Florida, South Carolina, Virginia, and West Virginia.

University of Georgia.

History of Georgia. 3. Graduate. Omitted.

History of the South. 3. Graduate. New.

History of the South. 1. Graduate. New.

University of North Carolina.

North Carolina History. Now II. 2.

3. North Central Division.

No changes were found in the catalogues of the universities of Illinois, Kansas, Michigan, North Dakota, Ohio, and South Dakota.

Indiana University.

History of Indiana. II. 2. New.

University of Iowa.

The Evolution of the Western States. Now I. 3.

The History of the Louisiana Purchase. Now I. 2.

University of Minnesota.

History of the Upper Mississippi and Great Lakes Region to 1815. II. 6? Undergraduate and graduate. New.

University of Missouri.

History of Missouri. Omitted.

Seminary in Missouri History. 3. Graduate. New.

University of Nebraska.

The "Finality Years" and the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. Omitted.

Nebraska and the Reconstruction Movement. I. 2. Undergraduate and graduate. New.

University of Wisconsin.

History of Wisconsin. Omitted.

4. South Central Division.

The catalogues of the universities of Alabama and Mississippi were not seen.

No changes were found in the catalogues of the universities of Arkansas, Kentucky, and Tennessee.

## Louisiana State University.

The South and West. Now II. 2.

American Biography . . . Southern Leaders. I.  
3. New.

## University of Oklahoma.

Seminary in Oklahoma History. Now 2.

Seminary in Southwestern History. II. 2.  
Graduate. New.

## University of Texas.

Southwestern History. Omitted.

The Anglo-American Southwest, 1803-1850. New.

## 5. Western Division.

The catalogues of the universities of Oregon and  
Utah were not seen.No changes were found in the catalogues of the  
universities of Idaho, Nevada, New Mexico, and  
Washington.

## University of Arizona.

Expansion of the American People. Omitted.

## University of California.

The Trans-Mississippi West since 1821. II. 2.  
Graduate. New.

## University of Colorado.

History of Colorado. Omitted.

The Development of the West. II. 2. New.

## University of Montana.

Department of Economics and Sociology.

Seminar in Montana Economics and History.

II. 2. Graduate. New.

## University of Wyoming.

Topics in Western History. II. 2. New.

Since, against seven courses omitted, thirteen new courses were offered, the net gain for the year was six. This, to the advocates of state and regional history, should be a gratifying increase. Yet it may be that, owing to the fact that some instructors do not list courses not given during the year for which the announcements are made, this increase is merely temporary. In order to discover if there has been any real advance during the

past five years, the catalogues of the year 1909-10 were examined. The results of this further investigation are noted in the following table. In some cases, where the 1909-10 catalogue was not to be found in the University of Colorado Library, another academic year was used. When this has been done, the fact is stated.

VI. State institutions and courses in state and regional history offered, catalogues of 1909-10.

1. North Atlantic Division.

Because of the situation in 1913-14 and 1914-15, the catalogues of these institutions were not examined.

2. South Atlantic Division.

University of Georgia.

History of Georgia. II. 1.

History of Georgia. I. 3.

History of Georgia. II (?). 3. Graduate.

University of South Carolina.

No courses offered.

University of Virginia.

No courses offered.

West Virginia University, 1907-8.

History of West Virginia.

3. North Central Division.

University of Illinois.

The History of Illinois. I. 2.

The History of Western Expansion, 1763-1818.

II. Graduate.

Indiana University.

History of the West. II. 2.

University of Iowa. 1908-9.

Department of Political Science.

Iowa History and Politics. I. 2.

Research Work in Iowa History. 2 to 4.

Advanced Research. 2 to 10. Graduate.

University of Kansas.

Seminar in American History. II. 3 to 5. Graduate.

"Subjects . . . taken from the history of the trans-Missouri West."



University of Michigan.

No courses offered.

University of Minnesota.

No courses offered.

University of Missouri.

History of Missouri. 3. Undergraduate and graduate.

Seminary in Missouri History. 2 to 4. Graduate.

University of Nebraska.

Nebraska History. I. 2.

Public Lands, Policy, and Laws of the United States since 1789. I. 2.

Ohio State University. 1908-9.

The History of the West. Three terms. 2.

University of South Dakota. 1910-11.

History of the West. I. 2.

University of Wisconsin.

A History of the West to 1840. I. 3. Undergraduate and graduate.

4. South Central Division.

University of Kentucky.

No courses offered.

Louisiana State University.

History of Louisiana. I. 3.

The South and West. I. 3.

Historical Society. II. 1.

Topics in "local, state or southern history."

University of Mississippi.

Political History of the South, 1776-1830. One term. 2.

The South in Federal Politics, 1830-60. One term. 2.

The South in National Politics, 1860-1910. One term. 2.

Local History of Reconstruction in Mississippi. 3.

State Histories of Reconstruction in the South. 3.

All of the above undergraduate and graduate.

University of Oklahoma.

A Study of the Westward Expansion of Population. I. 3.

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History of Oklahoma. I. 3.

University of Tennessee.

No courses offered.

University of Texas. 1910-11.

Spanish Colonization. Undergraduate and graduate.

Southwestern History. Undergraduate and graduate.

5. Western Division.

University of Arizona.

No courses offered.

University of California.

Seminary in Pacific Coast History. II. 2. Graduate.

University of Colorado.

No courses offered.

University of Idaho.

The Pacific Northwest. II. 2.

University of Montana.

No courses offered.

University of New Mexico.

No courses offered.

University of Oregon.

Pacific Slope History. II. 3.

University of Utah.

No courses offered.

University of Washington.

Northwestern History. II. 2.

Development of the Pacific. II. 4.

University of Wyoming.

Department of Political Economy.

Wyoming. II. 3. Undergraduate and graduate.

A comparison of table VI with the results of the previous investigations seems to reveal the fact that there has been a rapid increase in the interest in state and regional history, especially the latter, during the past five years. In 1913-14 there were but four institutions west of the Appalachian Mountains, the universi-

ties of Kentucky, with the reservation noted, Michigan, New Mexico, and Tennessee which failed to offer such courses. In 1914-15 Arizona was added to the list. On the other hand, in the catalogues of 1909-10, the universities of Arizona, Colorado, Kentucky, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, New Mexico, Tennessee, and Utah, nine in all, did not offer either state or regional history. There has, therefore, been a clear gain of four institutions offering courses of the character described. This spread of interest into new lands has been accompanied by a large increase in the number of courses offered in the various institutions. Counting only those institutions for which both the 1909-10 and 1914-15 catalogues were found, the courses in state and regional history have increased over two-fold. When it is considered that many of the departments of history in institutions west of the Mississippi are undermanned and offer instruction only along lines which are felt to be fundamental, this increase is very illuminating. With few exceptions the departments that are sufficiently manned are devoting considerable attention to the history either of their state or of their section of the country.

If the main purpose of the establishment of departments of state history in state universities is to arouse an interest in the subject, it seems to be unnecessary to begin a vigorous campaign for such departments when it can be shown that the present departments of history are giving so much instruction in state and regional history. The committee, for the reasons stated below, is opposed to the idea of such special departments, yet if the progress towards an adequate treatment of state and regional history continues to be as rapid as this investigation seems to show, such departments may be evolved in time as a result of a natural demand. At the present time they would require additional appropriations from university funds which are already overburdened with

demands; they would serve to draw attention from the need of further broadening the field of instruction in more fundamental branches of history and they would not, in the opinion of the committee, serve the purpose for which they were created. It would seem to be somewhat the same with the research courses referred to the consideration of the committee. There are already several of this class of courses being given in the state institutions of the Mississippi Valley, and without further attempting to force their adoption elsewhere, it might be possible for the officers of the Association to open relations with such departments of history as already supervise such research work. The experiment, if tried, might pave the way for definite recommendations of expansion.

The larger problem of the means to be used in arousing the interest of the people of the states in the history of their section of the country has yet to be carefully studied; but, as has already been indicated, this is not within the province of the present committee. Historical and other societies are attempting to solve it, all too often without any effective assistance from the departments of history of the state universities. The results of the study of the extent of this coöperation, now being made by another committee of this Association, combined with this investigation of the work done by the teaching departments, ought to pave the way for more definite recommendations. At least, they will help to clear the ground in preparation for more systematic work on the subject.

The committee has reached certain conclusions which it presents to the Association in the place of formal recommendations. These are as follows:

1. In our opinion the formation of a distinct teaching department of state history in our state universities is not desirable. From the educational point of view it suggests undue

specialization on the part both of instructors and students, a tendency which has already been pushed to undesirable limits during recent years. Even from the point of view of those especially interested in state history, this complete separation of work in local history from the wider field seems likely to be injurious, weakening the sense of proportion both of instructor and student, and tending to give to research itself a narrow and superficial character. In this conclusion we are in line with the existing practice of the institutions of the Mississippi Valley.

2. On the other hand it is possible and desirable for most departments of history in state universities to offer at least one course in which the history of the state may be studied, even by undergraduates. A number of courses of this kind are already offered. It is even more desirable that courses in regional history should be offered as soon as the equipment of the departments of history makes it possible.

3. The departments of history of the state universities should assume a special, though by no means an exclusive, obligation to foster research in the history of their own commonwealths and to utilize those materials which lie nearest at hand. This may be done either independently or in coöperation with the departments of political science and economics in the same university or by some kind of working relation with other state agencies, such as the state historical society.

The Committee on the Establishment of Departments of State History in State Universities, having completed the task assigned it, respectfully requests that it be discharged.

For the committee,

JAMES F. WILLARD, *Chairman*





PAPERS READ AT THE DECEMBER MEETING  
OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HIS-  
TORICAL ASSOCIATION

(Chicago, Illinois, December 28-31, 1914)



## THE AGRARIAN HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES AS A SUBJECT FOR RESEARCH

BY WILLIAM J. TRIMBLE

The United States has reached a stage in its development which may afford opportunities for the investigation and interpretation of its history on a scale more comprehensive and with a finality more assured than ever before. The passing of the easily available public domain has brought to an end the first great era of our national history. The last two decades have been characterized by perturbations attendant upon new conditions. There are indications that the American people have passed the more severe perplexities of the process of adjustment, laid down broadly the policies which are to control in the new period, and are now about to enter upon a growth less hurried and perhaps better meditated than that of the past. The new period may furnish a favorable atmosphere to historians for bringing to fuller fruition the choice labors of the past; for interpreting that past with a somewhat broader range of vision than was possible to scholars in the unmatured era; and for incorporating into the body of our history important elements hitherto overlooked. One of these elements may be the agrarian history of the United States.

By agrarian history I do not mean the bare consideration of the development of the technique of agriculture, though that has an important place; but I have in view, also, wider study of laws, politics, transportation, markets, production, and correlated manufactures; education, religion, social movements, and ideals; types of society — all of these studied sympathetically in their re-

lation to agriculture as focal and measurably determinative, rather than as merely subsidiary and tangential. In other words, I would have the facts of our agrarian history considered from the inside out rather than from the outside in. An example is afforded in Prothero's treatment of English history in his *English Agriculture Past and Present*. Such a conception, however, emphasizes a systematic, conscious method of approach rather than the entrance upon an entirely new field; for many of the facts of our agrarian history have been considered in other connections. But this method of approach undoubtedly involves also investigations on new lines, the acquisition of much new data, and the reëstimation of old.

The leading occupation of the people of the United States, as they possessed themselves of the continent, was agriculture. If it be true that the occupations of a people and their response to physical environment in the pursuit of these occupations largely mould society and shape politics, then it is also true that an adequate history of our nation (as, indeed, of most nations) must deal extensively and familiarly with the facts of agricultural history. This is not now the case. The history of agriculture in the United States, declares Wright in his valuable monograph on *Wool-Growing and the Tariff*, "has suffered from the most amazing neglect," and Dr. Ely in the *American Historical Review*, July, 1914, remarks that, "Strangely enough one of the very greatest fields of research has been, comparatively speaking, unworked, one which will prove particularly fruitful, and that is the field of agriculture."

There can be no doubt, at least, of the importance of this phase in the history of the Mississippi Valley; for here the dominance of agriculture is clear. Considered broadly, on a scale befitting our prairies, the history of agriculture in the Mississippi Valley holds forth an in-

viting prospect — the first rude wrestling of its earliest agriculture, after the older fashion, with the density of the woodland; the growing appreciation of semi-prairie regions; that wonderful emergence upon the prairies, one of the great steps in the world history of agriculture; the preëminence of corn as it took possession of the flat river valleys and then moved out upon the black prairies; the vast extension of the cattle industry with its new methods and unique types of life; the rise of specialized agriculture; the growth of the wheat industry, as great forces of production here converged; the application of machinery on a scale and with a skill unmatched in history; finally, the leap forward in total volume of production, a prodigious fact not only in the history of the United States, but in the history of the modern world. Consider, also, tributary and auxiliary developments, such as the rise of packing and milling centers, the growth of transportation, the spread of the unique and characteristic manufacture of agricultural implements, and affiliations with mining and lumbering. Have we not in such history an indispensable background for the biography of many a statesman, and for the history of more than one political movement?

Indeed, such history reveals some new and engaging aspects of men already prominent in American history and brings into focus new characters. Men like Jesse Buel and Peter Gideon and Solon Robinson may not unworthily come into the ken of students of history. New facts, it may be surmised, will emerge in the course of investigation, and others will be broadened in significance. I wonder how many of our historians, even of those familiar with New England, know the location of the famous Brighton Market, a picturesque gathering in the forties to which stockmen from many states converged? Another fact, of more far-reaching consequence, may be cited. One of the most enduring of human institutions

has been that typical unit of agricultural organization which formed the framework of agricultural society throughout Europe. Founded upon the necessities of an agriculture which was almost destitute of machinery and which lacked artificial grasses and crops suitable for soil sanitation, it evolved in remote ages and in diverse places, appearing in the mir, the villa, and the manor. In all the vicissitudes of governments and societies it seldom suffered dislocation and always tended to revert to type. How stubbornly this common-field system withstood new conditions is abundantly illustrated in the agricultural history of England. Now, Englishmen who started the American settlements in the seventeenth century were thoroughly accustomed to this system of tillage; and in both Virginia and New England it was initiated. But one of the most significant facts in the agricultural history of the United States is that this age-long system broke down in the presence of vast new lands and of new crops. Some of the results, due in part at least to this revolution in agricultural organization, were: general ownership of land in fee simple; ease in transfer of title; loosening of community bonds and development of habits of isolation and of extreme individualism; fluidity of agricultural population; quick responsiveness to new ideas; atrophy of coöperative ability. The adaptation of machinery to agriculture was facilitated, while, on the other hand, the working out of a system of rural credits and other coöperative enterprises has been rendered more difficult.

In addition to the need for research in agricultural history there is demand. A paradox, indeed, has appeared in the recent development of agriculture in this country — the less important it becomes proportionately, the more important it becomes intrinsically. A revolution has occurred. Whereas formerly men who wanted large opportunities sought them in the openings of urban



life, now far-sighted men often turn to agriculture, either directly or in affiliated professions. The farming class is coming to dignity and self-consciousness; and classes, like individuals, when they attain position, look around for genealogies. Thousands of cultured men are being employed in the new agriculture by the national and state governments and by local communities. In particular, agricultural economists insistently demand agricultural history as an indispensable prerequisite to their work. Consider also that to inducements already inciting men to agricultural professions there will now be added the stimulus of the system outlined in the Smith-Lever Bill. The next decade will see, one may hazard, greatly increased numbers graduating from our land-grant institutions.

A third and urgent reason for research into the agrarian history of the United States is that such history is needed to point the way for right methods of future advance. In agriculture as in everything else history, revealing the values of the past, helps to curb the conceit of the present; for as Weyl says: "The heirs of all the ages are spoilt children valuing only their newest toys." "We think our fathers fools," quotes an old horticulturist, "so wise we grow. Our wiser sons, no doubt, will think us so." The perusal of some of our agricultural literature, I think, tends to heighten our estimate of our fathers in agriculture, and even the very newest scientist may be surprised to find in it so many hints, so much practical knowledge. One special bearing of our agricultural history, however, may be pointed out. Our land system is now just entering upon its formative period. That term, I am aware, is usually applied to that series of acts and those policies in accordance with which titles to public lands were alienated to individuals. Extremely important these, and they press for research. But there are ahead of us questions of land tenure, tenancy, size of

farms, landlordism and like matters, which have an importance and complexity such as we have never experienced in the epoch of free lands. These questions go to the heart of our country's life, and I am sure that in dealing with them no statesman is competent who has not a broad knowledge of agrarian history.

No paper concerned with our agrarian history should omit cordial recognition of work already done. Incidental and often illuminating allusions appear in most historical compositions, and these are the more elaborate in later productions. In others the subject is integral, as in the path-breaking work of Professor Bogart and the comprehensive presentation of social and industrial history by Professor Fite. If time allowed, others should be mentioned under this head. Indispensable to our agrarian history is the work of our honored pioneers in the history of the West. A discussion of the correlations and distinctions of these two broad phases of our history would of itself furnish material for a paper.

Bibliographical mention of direct work on agrarian history occurs in Professor Buck's survey of "Historical Activities" in the first number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*. To this might be added, among others, Miss Ford's *Colonial Precedents of the Federal Land System*, Brooks's *Agrarian Revolution*, Coulter's *History of Agriculture in the Red River Valley*, and especially Wright's masterly treatise on *Wool-growing and the Tariff*. The scholarship of Professor Phillips has made available in the first two volumes of the *Documentary History of American Industrial Society* material of great value on the agrarian history of the South. One must deplore, however, the lack in a work with the above title of such material for the agriculture of the North, except as it is presented from the point of view of organized labor. Professor Sanford has in manuscript,

"The Story of American Agriculture." This, while intended primarily for young readers and laymen, nevertheless is a product of sound scholarship well worthy of perusal by the specialist. It is especially strong on the colonial period. The most extensive undertaking is that in progress under the auspices of the department of economics and sociology of the Carnegie Institution. In addition to the captions under which this work is being carried on which are given in Professor Buck's survey, Prof. L. C. Gray (now of the University of Saskatchewan) has investigated, as a part of the work at the University of Wisconsin, the history of southern agriculture from the "beginning of the plantation economy in the West Indies to the Civil War." In the course of the historical activities of the Department of Agricultural Economics of the University of Wisconsin interesting collections of materials are being formed. The files of excerpts are of special value.

While the work already done on our agrarian history is of great value, it can be considered scarcely more than a beginning. The scantiness of the literature on the subject may be inferred from a perusal of the titles in the far-searching *Guide to American History*. Lacunæ due to inadequate information exist even in our most comprehensive historical productions. Information, moreover, is often derived from untested sources, an example of this practice being offered in the frequent use of Flint's *Hundred Years' Progress*. Monographic treatment of special fields and phases is urgently needed and offers good opportunities. Adequate treatment of our agrarian history, indeed, will require a long process of development and the systematic coöperation of many workers.

The sources are abundant, particularly in later development, but are scattered widely. Much fugitive information is to be derived, of course, from all sorts of

sources, as in biographical material, personal letters, general official reports, and letters of travelers. Of such nature, in particular, are the sources in the colonial period. After the rise of agricultural societies subsequent to the Revolution and the beginning of the agricultural press in 1819, the sources become increasingly specialized. In 1839 H. L. Ellsworth, commissioner of patents, who was much interested in agriculture, succeeded in getting from Congress an appropriation of \$1,000 for a report on agriculture, and thereafter until 1862 one volume of the annual reports of the Patent Office was devoted to agriculture. After 1862 the reports were issued by the commissioner of agriculture. The census reports since 1840 are likewise fundamental. We must not omit mention, also, of the many almanacs, farmers' "Guides" and "Companions" (some of them Americanized editions of English works) and of such special books as Beatty's *Essays on Practical Agriculture* and Caird's *Prairie Farming*.

In bringing this paper to its conclusion, may I venture to set forth what may be the necessary qualifications for him who is to investigate and present agrarian history?

In the first place this work seems to me to pertain ultimately more to the province of the historian than to that of the agricultural economist. The latter is leading the way now to be sure, but more because from need than from inclination. Of course, no hard and fast provincial lines can be run between these specialized fields; historians of catholic mind receive in fellowship all sincere workers whether worshipping at Mt. Gerizim or at Jerusalem. On the other hand, agricultural economists are broad-minded men who conceive of history in no dehumanizing fashion. But the agricultural economists are constantly drawn away from their pursuit of agricultural history, comparatively few have the training for doing

the work right, and I think that they would prefer that historians should do the work if the latter would cease apathy, eschew dilettanteism, and pay more attention to the things that the economists must have.

If historians are to do the work they must be equipped in two ways. He who would prosecute successfully agrarian history must of course be a real historian. I need not say that he must have, therefore, wide and exact scholarship, nor that he should be a master of choice and polished expression. At bottom, beyond doubt, should be the passion for historical research, and this involves a spirit of response to historical data; unrest with superficial facts; a keen scent, as it were, for tracing facts to their uttermost lairs; a delight in the process of historical research; and inward renewal under long-continued labor. The true historian is a creator. Taking his facts, he weighs them, judges them; but in no mechanical fashion. In his mind the past lives again. He is continually remoulding the body of his thought as he gains new insight and broader comprehension. There is a constant process of assignment and balancing. Over all and through all, vivifying all, penetrating all, plays the light of imagination — for without this qualification a man may be a very useful chronicler or compiler, but he is *not* a historian. A historian has kinship with the poet and the artist. And just as these have often done their noblest work on the subjects of everyday life, so the historian does not demean himself in trying to investigate and interpret the humble facts of agrarian development.

But the historian must understand and sympathize with the life which he seeks to portray. "Agrarian history, as such," writes Prof. Henry C. Taylor, "while it should be written by one with historical training, requires that one's point of view be economic and agricultural, rather than political." He who studies agrarian



history, therefore, must be on familiar terms with agricultural life, and with the technique of agriculture. If the term summer-fallow, for example, comes only vaguely to his mind, he will not be able to deal clearly with the open-field system. He must know vitally his agricultural economics and rural sociology, and the problems connected therewith. He must have some conception of the *statesmanship* of agriculture. Fortunately many students in history have been reared on the farm and can acquire easily the point of view required. Moreover, as departments of agricultural economics develop in our large universities, it would seem most proper that a graduate student having a major in history might choose agricultural economics as a minor.

Finally, the investigator of the agrarian history of the United States must know well the agrarian history of other countries. That of England is indispensable. And no one can understand the great contribution of Germans to our agriculture until he knows something of the history of German agriculture. We shall find insistent also the demand for knowledge of the history of our competitors — Russia, Australia, Argentine. An example of the necessity and method of such work occurs in Wright's *Wool-Growing and the Tariff*. In fact agrarian history, as all history, ever calls farther, and he who pursues it will find his comprehension continually broadening.



PAPERS AND ADDRESSES DELIVERED AT THE  
EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MIS-  
SISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL  
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## SHATALA: NOTES ON A CHICKASAW TOWN NAME

BY H. S. HALBERT

In Bernard Romans' list of Chickasaw towns, there is one named Chatelaw, and in James Adair's list, one named Shatara. There is no doubt that these two names refer to one and the same town. In writing Indian names Romans always writes "ch" for "sh." In like manner, Adair always substitutes an "r" for an "l." Hence this town name, restored to its correct orthography, is Shatala.

In Dr. Lyman C. Draper's manuscript "Contribution to the History of the Chickasaw Indians," the name of the town is written "Tishatulla," with the translation, "Post-Oak grove." In Choctaw "schisha" signifies "post-oak," of which "tisha" seems to be the dialectic Chickasaw form. "Tala" and "talaiya," both forms used indiscriminately, are the passives of the active verb, "talali," "to set," "to put." These passives are often affixed to material things to show that they exist, *fixed* or *set there*. To make a local name, they are often affixed to the names of trees. Examples are: "Kafitalaiya," "sassafras fixed there," that is, "sassafras thicket" or "sassafras grove"; "Tiak talaiya," "pine grove." "Chishatala" or "Tishatala" may well be translated "post-oak grove."

In ordinary speech the first syllable of Tisha was no doubt often omitted, and the Chickasaw, instead of saying "Tishatala," simply said "Shatala." Dr. Draper received the uncontracted form from the noted Indian countryman, Malcolm McGee. He states that the town

was located on Copper Creek, and that it was sometimes called Coppertown.

Draper's location of the town, in connection with other statements in his "Contributions," and the statements of Romans and Adair, may furnish the clue whereby the approximate location of all the Chickasaw towns may be ascertained. Their location, so far, is the unsolved problem in Chickasaw history.

## THE INDIAN POLICY OF BERNARDO DE GALVEZ

· BY ELIZABETH HOWARD WEST

"When Viceroy Galvez assumed control over the Provincias Internas," says Bancroft, "he introduced some important changes of policy, as fully set forth in his elaborate instructions of Aug. 26, 1786, to General Ugarte y Loyola."<sup>1</sup> It is the purpose of this paper to outline and discuss briefly in its general aspects the matured Indian policy of Bernardo de Galvez, the Conde de Galvez, Viceroy of New Spain, as set forth in these instructions to Ugarte y Loyola for his conduct as Commandant-General of the Internal Provinces of New Spain.

The Internal Provinces were at this time subordinate to the Viceroyalty of New Spain, instead of being practically independent, as they had been at their organization in 1776, so that Galvez had here an opportunity to formulate and put into practical effect the ideas which he had gathered through his years of experience as military commander and as civil administrator.

Omitting the sections dealing with local conditions, one may summarize the general points of the *Instrucción* as follows:

The military force of the Internal Provinces was to be reorganized and greatly strengthened; this force was to be judiciously used to keep the Indians in check.

No campaign should be begun until it could be vigorously prosecuted. Until the hostile Apache should

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<sup>1</sup> The full title of the instructions here referred to is: *Instrucción Formada en virtud de Real Orden de S. M., que se dirige al Señor Comandante General de Provincias Internas Don Jacobo Ugarte y Loyola para gobierno y puntual observancia de este Superior Gefe y de sus inmediatos Subalternos.*

be entirely subjugated or exterminated, the military strength of the Internal Provinces was to be massed against them; in the case of less troublesome enemies, such as the Yuma along the Colorado River, dissimulation was proper, in order to obviate an outbreak before the close of the Apache war; in the case of the friendly Indians of the North, every effort should be made to keep the peace.

Peace was to be granted, on the most favorable terms, to all Indians who sued for it; its terms should be most scrupulously observed by the Spanish, and every effort should be made to hold the Indians to good faith also. Minor delinquencies, however, should be overlooked as due to the ignorance of the Indians, since even a bad peace was far preferable to a good war; serious breaches of the peace were to be punished as rigorously as the Spanish military strength would permit.

Peace being based upon mutual self-interest, systematic efforts should be made to render the Indians as dependent as possible upon the Spanish by satisfying their present desires and creating new ones. To this end, a strictly regulated trade should be introduced as rapidly as possible; pending its firm establishment, presents were to be supplied at the expense of the royal treasury, according to a regular schedule, to supply their present needs. Stock-raising was likewise to be encouraged as removing one incentive to robbery. A liking for intoxicating liquors was to be cultivated, to bring profit to the traders, gain the good will of the Indians, lower their efficiency as fighters, and increase their dependence upon the Spanish. Firearms and ammunition were to be another means of increasing their dependence and lowering their fighting efficiency. The firearms sold to them were to be showy to catch the Indians' fancy, long and clumsy, as being less effective in battle, more subject to accidents requiring the services of a Spanish gunsmith



to repair; ammunition was to be furnished regularly and abundantly.

The Indians should be set against one another for their mutual destruction; in line with this policy, tribal and intertribal factions and feuds were to be skilfully manipulated to the advantage of the Spanish.

Or, more briefly stated in his own words:

Waging incessant war upon the avowed enemy, one will succeed in chastising them, checking them, intimidating them to the point at which they will either remove from our frontiers or solicit peace; this being conceded, they shall be gently drawn toward the pleasures of rational life, and to forced dependence upon us by the interesting means of trade, and of discreet and opportune gifts; peace being broken because of the fickleness of the Indian or because his bad faith shall become insufferable, we shall return with reason to incessant, pitiless war, this and peace alternating as often as the conduct, now haughty, now humble, of the barbarous nations shall require.

These are the principles upon which the system provided is essentially based; they appear to me correct; I conceive also that it is right to employ the ancient hatred, the factional interest, the inconstancy and the perfidy of the Gentile nations, in order that they may destroy one another with reciprocal hostilities.

Notwithstanding the cold-blooded character of these general instructions, Galvez had so much of genuine human kindness in his nature that he could not altogether refrain from expressing it, even in this formal official document. In speaking of relations with the Tarau-mares, for example, he expresses the belief that the current suspicions of the good faith of these Indians is exaggerated, for ignorance often occasions an Indian's conviction of crimes he has not committed; and suggests that a thorough understanding and kind treatment will accomplish far more than "ill-considered harshness."

It would be an interesting task to trace to their exact origin the details of the policy set forth in this epoch-making document; it is possible in this paper, however,

only to indicate briefly the main sources of the Viceroy's inspiration.

One naturally turns first to the *Recopilación* of 1774, which, printed only twelve years before, would naturally be supposed to have influenced Galvez; one succeeds, however, only in finding out how far away from this code of the idealist the practical man of affairs has traveled. Save for a general agreement in the matter of treating peaceful Indians kindly and indulgently, and attempting to civilize them, there are in these two documents only two points of contact; and at these two points they are at cross-purposes, for the *Recopilación* forbids the furnishing of wine or firearms to the Indians, which the *Instrucción* distinctly sets forth as most desirable.

In his introduction Galvez himself cites as his sources the "knowledge and experience" gained in his "military command of Nueva Vizcaya" and in "frequent personal campaigns and fatigues" on the border of that province and of Sonora, information gained from "various persons of intelligence, zeal, and character . . . the evidence of official letters and expedientes"; in sections 29 and 34 he cites the policy of the conquistadores. These sources will account satisfactorily enough for the policy on its military side; to explain other phases — the establishment of a trading system, the systematic giving of presents, the fomentation of internal dissensions among the Indians for their own destruction — one must look to his experience in Louisiana and the Floridas. In sections 43 and 66, indeed, he distinctly adduces governmental experience in the newly acquired colonies of Spain as arguments in favor of his proposals regarding Indian presents and trade respectively.

Galvez's connection with Louisiana and the Floridas, the new acquisitions to which he refers, as military commander and civil governor, and as captain-general of Cuba, had given him thorough acquaintance with the system there followed by the Spanish government.

In Louisiana he had come into contact with a system which was essentially French, and which had been adopted by the Spanish after dispossessing the French as a result of the French and Indian War — a “method of control,” as Dr. Bolton puts it in the introduction to his *Athanase de Mézières*, “through the fur trade and presents, with a good many modifications in the directions of greater equity for the white men and greater humanity toward the natives.” In the Floridas he had found an English system which was also based upon the French, its chief features being a well-developed trade, and presents regularly provided for by annual appropriations. As in Louisiana, this system had been adopted as one phase of the reorganization necessary in consequence of the territorial changes brought about by the French and Indian War.

It was not pleasant for the English officers to have to take up French ways. Maj. Robert Farmar writes the secretary of war on Jan. 24, 1764:

The French have established an interest with the Indians that will not be removed without observing a very uniform steady conduct with them, sacrificing every thought of social enjoyment, and conforming in a great degree with the vile custom the French have introduced. Your house constantly open to them, giving them victuals whenever they ask it, and the Government making them annually considerable presents . . .

Recognizing the necessity, however, they proceeded with characteristic English thoroughness; and, having the good fortune to find for the Indian superintendency in the southern country John Stuart, second only to Sir William Johnson in his grasp of Indian affairs, the English succeeded in securing in the Floridas a strong hold upon the Indian tribes through a well-developed Indian trade and by generous provision for presents and entertainment. William Panton in a letter to Carondelet of April 16, 1792, somewhat vaguely estimated, without citing his authority, that the annual expenditures of the

English government for presents and provisions totaled over £20,000 sterling, £70,000 in time of war. In West Florida alone, the estimate of the civil establishment for each of the eleven years between 1763 and 1781 regarding which I have been able to find figures was £1,000 for the Indian fund, and £1,000 for unforeseen contingent expenses. In view of its effect upon Spanish policy, however, the most interesting feature of the English system in the Floridas when Galvez was put in authority over them was the Indian-trade monopoly which the government had granted to a firm of Scotch traders styled Panton, Leslie & Company. These enterprising traders had built up a trade with the Indian tribes along the Gulf shore and well into the interior. Here, as in the case of Louisiana, the Spanish government took the machinery already in use and adapted it for their own purposes. Panton, Leslie & Company, therefore, under very liberal terms, from the Spanish point of view, continued their monopoly as long as the Spanish held the Floridas; and their influence with the Indian tribes of the Floridas was one of the most important means of conserving the Spanish interests in this region during the thirty-seven years before the surrender of the whole country to the United States.

It is but natural, therefore, that the far-seeing Galvez should see the advantages of this system, in which the principal features were a systematic giving of presents and entertainment as a present expedient, and a well-organized trade, ultimately to be worked out, as the principal means of control. That he did think along this line even while governor of Louisiana is proved by the following passage from a letter to José de Galvez, Spanish secretary of state, dated Oct. 24, 1778:

The knowledge which I have acquired since I have been in this colony of the way in which the English and French treat or have treated their Indians impels me to desire that in our other establishments they should be treated in the same way. I

do not know whether under the present circumstances the method could be installed of keeping them friendly by means of presents; if it should be possible to do so, the King would keep them very contented for ten years with what he spends in one year in making war upon them; in addition to this advantage and the innumerable advantages which our Internal Provinces would gain, the Indians would forget how to make war upon us; and, a sort of luxury being introduced among them by means of commerce, they would reach the point, as have all in this province, of being unable to do without us, because they have learned sundry conveniences of life of whose existence they previously knew nothing, and which now they look upon as indispensable. Moreover, they would have the same experience as the Indians here, who becoming accustomed to guns and powder, have forgotten the use and construction of their bows and arrows, knowing no other arms than those we give them, living exposed to the danger of being disarmed and dying of hunger from any moment when in common accord we European nations should cease to give them the powder they need. I know that years would pass before the frontier Indians of New Spain would reach this point, and that we should not see them do so in our own time. But the life of kingdoms is long; and so long as the glorious house of Bourbon shall reign and the ministry be held by men so devoted to their sovereign and to their country as Your Excellency, we must hope that the kingdom of Spain may continue for many centuries in splendor, and that this system may contribute greatly to the security and happiness of her vassals.

It was almost eight years before he had an opportunity to put these theories to a practical test in the actual government of the Internal Provinces. The event proved his wisdom; for, despite his death only a few months after the issuance of the *Instrucción*, the documents of New Mexico and Texas show for years the energizing effect of his policy here instituted — an influence more or less apparent until the Spanish hold upon the country was weakened and finally broken by the disaffection of the Spanish-American colonists.



## THE LOYALISTS IN WEST FLORIDA AND THE NATCHEZ DISTRICT

BY WILBUR H. SIEBERT

During the period from 1764 to 1781 West Florida was a British province, and embraced a large part of the present states of Alabama and Mississippi, extending somewhat northward of the site of Montgomery, Alabama. Capt. George Johnstone arrived at Pensacola as the first governor under the new régime in February, 1764, accompanied by a British regiment and many Highlanders from Charleston and New York. He at once organized the civil government and garrisoned Fort Charlotte at Mobile, Fort Bute at Manchac, and Fort Panmure at Natchez. The English authorities encouraged immigration and numerous settlers came in before the Revolution from the Carolinas and Georgia, from Great Britain and the British West Indies, from New Jersey, Delaware, and Virginia, and even from the New England colonies. These settlers formed communities between Manchac and Baton Rouge, in the Natchez country, and in the region drained by the Bayou Sara, the Homochitto, and the Bayou Pierre. In November, 1776, a fresh contingent of New Englanders, led by Capt. Matthew Phelps, settled on the Big Black River. Many Highlanders who had joined the royal standard under Brig.-Gen. Donald McDonald in North Carolina, Feb. 1, 1776, only to be defeated by the state troops, took refuge in West Florida soon after. Of the people who established homes on the shores of the Tombigbee and Mobile Bay large numbers were adherents of the British cause, who had fled hither through the trackless forests from Georgia and South



Carolina in the early days of the Revolution. Other refugees from the same colonies located on the Tensaw River and Lake, where a settlement grew up which is said to have approached Mobile in population.<sup>1</sup>

When William Bartram, the botanist, visited Mobile in the summer of 1777, he found it the center of an extensive trade with the Chickasaw, Choctaw, and Creeks, with a population consisting of a few French and a larger number of people from the northern colonies and Great Britain. The town then extended back from the river nearly half a mile, but contained some vacant houses and others that were in ruins. Pensacola was already a place of several hundred habitations, including the governor's stone mansion with its tower, and the spacious residences occupied by the provincial secretary and certain prosperous merchants and professional men. The officers' houses, together with the council chamber and the barracks for the garrison, were all within the stockaded, tetragonal fortress.

Gathered from all parts of the British dominions, largely cut off from intercourse with the other American colonies, and surrounded by numerous Indian tribes, the white population of West Florida, like that of its sister province to the eastward, had in general no desire to join in the Revolution. But there was danger of an outside attack on the Floridas, and the British commander in chief, Gen. William Howe, desired, therefore, that the Indians should be secured for their defense. He clearly expressed this desire in his orders of Aug. 25, 1776, both to Gov. Patrick Tonyn at St. Augustine and to Col. John Stuart, the superintendent of Indian affairs at Pensacola. The friendship of the tribes if secured, was, however, to be strongly supported by the troops already

<sup>1</sup> A. J. Pickett, *History of Alabama and Incidentally of Georgia and Mississippi from the Earliest Period*, 320, 323, 331, 332, 334, 336, 339; John F. H. Claiborne, *Mississippi As a Province, Territory, and State*, 94, 102, 109, 135, 416.

in West Florida, which were supplemented in the fall of 1776 by the arrival of the Royal American Regiment, a corps of loyalists recently raised by Col. Beverly Robinson in New Jersey and New York. Notwithstanding official intimations that there were some enemies of the Crown even in West Florida, Howe was disposed to rely for the present mainly on the troops in the peninsula, and the savages. In order to secure unity of action, all the troops in this region were placed under the command of Brig.-Gen. Augustine Prevost in May, 1777.<sup>2</sup>

But already the cloud that was to prove ruinous to British interests in the twin provinces had appeared to the southward. The King's armed sloop, "West Florida," had given offense in the previous April to the Spanish governor of Louisiana by seizing some small vessels containing cargoes of wine and tobacco, and Galvez had retaliated by the seizure of all the English shipping he could find in the Mississippi, on the score that it was engaged in the contraband trade. This breach of relations was followed by the erection of temporary works and new barracks at Pensacola, the holding of a council with the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations at Mobile, and the hurried dispatch of two ships from New York, one loaded with provisions and the other with presents for the Indians. By the succeeding November the revolutionary party of Georgia, through the agency of George Galphin, its superintendent of Indian affairs, was threatening the Cherokee with destruction for their attachment to the royal cause, while it had already seduced the northern Creeks from their allegiance to England. In consequence, Colonel Stuart issued a proclamation forbidding trade with this nation, particularly the trade in rum, and proceeded to embody two companies of refugees, one a

<sup>2</sup> Alexander B. Meek, *Romantic Passages in Southwestern History*, 89; Pickett, *op. cit.*, 342; Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on American Manuscripts in the Royal Institution of Great Britain*, I, 56, 73, 84, 107, 108, cited hereafter as *Report on Amer. Mss.*

troop of light-horsemen under the command of Alexander Cameron, the other company being placed in charge of Capt. Richard Pearis, himself a fugitive from the vicinity of Charleston, who had entered West Florida a few months before in company with six others. The duty assigned to the second of these companies of refugee loyalists was the suppression of the rum trade at Mobile Bay.<sup>3</sup>

The withdrawal of all traders from the Creek nation brought in 600 Indians from the friendly towns of the lower Creeks, together with a deputation from the rebellious Cupitalis. Numerous conferences followed, and when the highly educated and influential half-breed chief of the Creeks, Alexander McGillivray, appeared at Pensacola, bearing a message of repentance from the Oakfuskee, another of the rebellious tribes, McGillivray was sent back with an invitation for the Oakfuskee chiefs to come and meet Colonel Stuart in council. Meanwhile, Pensacola had become the rendezvous of many of the Creeks and 500 of the Cherokee, the latter having arrived in a naked and forlorn condition. The principal chiefs among the disaffected tribes appear to have seized the earliest opportunity to return to their allegiance to the Crown, besides taking immediate steps to expel the few American traders, whom Galphin had recently sent among them. The Seminole Creeks had not wavered in their loyalty and were now (early in February, 1778) being solicited by Colonel Stuart to be prepared for action when they should be summoned. The sufferings of the Cherokee under the wrath of the Georgians and their prompt relief by the superintendent of Indian affairs rendered them obedient to the latter's demands for active service on occasion, and parties of the Choctaw and Chickasaw, accompanied by a few whites, were already

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 118, 123, 137, 147, 182, 186, 187; L. L. Knight, *Georgia's Landmarks, Memorials, and Legends*, II, 538.

scouting on the Mississippi River, while large bands of the Cowetas, according to McGillivray, were demonstrating their loyalty by attacks upon the revolutionists.<sup>4</sup>

Whatever duties the scouting parties of the Chickasaw and Choctaw may have performed, they failed to afford the protection then needed by the settlements on the lower Mississippi, including those of the Natchez District. This district, with which we are specially concerned here, extended a distance of 110 miles up the river from Loftus Cliffs to the mouth of the Yazoo, being ten miles wide at the upper end and forty at the lower. Besides the people from New England and elsewhere who settled in this region before the Revolution and in the fall of 1776, numerous Scotch-Irish from Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North Carolina also entered the Natchez country, in order to escape from the divided sentiments of friends and neighbors in the colonies from which they came. In 1776 the town of Natchez was already in existence, but contained only twenty log and frame houses, which were all on the river bottom below the bluff. This small village could boast of four merchants, one of the number being James Willing, who had removed hither from Pennsylvania in 1774. Three years later Willing returned to Philadelphia, where his family was prominent in colonial affairs, and obtained from Congress a commission as captain in the navy for the purpose of undertaking an expedition down the Mississippi to win the inhabitants along its banks to neutrality and to bring back provisions. As a former resident and trader in the district, Willing enjoyed a wide acquaintance among the older settlers on the river, and many of the new families had moved in since the war began precisely because they were disinclined to take sides against friends and kindred in their old neighborhoods. Others had come, however, because their loyalty to the King had rendered

<sup>4</sup> *Report on Amer. Mss.*, I, 189, 190, 197, 199, 204, 206.

them obnoxious to the Whigs in the states where they had previously lived.<sup>5</sup>

On Jan. 10, 1778, Captain Willing embarked at Pittsburgh in an armed boat called the "Rattletrap" with a "crew" of twenty-eight or twenty-nine men. Six weeks later he was at Natchez, where on February 21 he received the capitulation of William Hiorn and seven others, who are described in the original document as "delegates" for the district. Gov. Peter Chester wrote a long letter from Pensacola under date of March 21, to Major-General Prevost at St. Augustine concerning Willing's activities. In this letter the Governor states that the rebel captain had been able to increase his force to about one hundred men on his way down the Ohio and Mississippi, and by sending detachments into the Natchez country had succeeded in taking the magistrates and persons of influence by surprise, thus extracting from them an engagement of neutrality. The Americans had then proceeded down the river, taking with them the negroes and other property of Col. Anthony Hutchens, and on February 23 an advanced detachment of the rebels had seized the armed ship "Rebecca" at Manchac and made the inhabitants of that settlement prisoners on their parole. Meanwhile the remainder of the invading company, which was joined by several men from the Natchez settlement and a number of French and Spanish bateau men, together with other banditti, "laid waste" all the settlements from Manchac to Pointe Coupée, burning several houses and, except in a few instances, appropriating the property of the inhabitants. With this booty a detachment went on to New Orleans, where — according to report — it was to be auctioned off by Oliver Pollock, the agent of the American Congress. Below New Orleans this detachment had captured the brig "Neptune,"

<sup>5</sup> *Report on Amer. Mss.*, I, 213; Claiborne, *op. cit.*, I, 95, 103, 113, 115, 116, 135; Reuben G. Thwaites and Louise P. Kellogg, *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio*, 191, note 62.



its numbers having increased on the way down the river to between three hundred and four hundred men, according to the latest reports received by Governor Chester.<sup>6</sup>

The Governor had taken immediate action by sending the King's war sloops "Sylph" and "Hound" to the Mississippi to intercept other rebel craft that might be coming to the support of Willing's party, and to demand from the governor of Louisiana the restitution of the property brought by the Americans into his territory. At the same time he had remonstrated against Galvez's affording protection or furnishing supplies to the rebels. Inasmuch as Governor Chester had received word that a force of 2,000 or 3,000 men was preparing to descend upon West Florida from Pittsburgh in the following May, he suggested to General Prevost that one of the sloops be ordered up the river to Manchac to obstruct the passage of the Pittsburgh contingent and also prevent the return of Captain Willing and his men. That Willing's depredations among the settlements on the Mississippi had produced a result very different from that intended by the American Congress appears from the circumstance that the inhabitants of the Natchez District now appealed to Governor Chester to send them 100 men from the garrison at Pensacola, in order that they might break their neutrality and resist the rebels, while the settlers at Mobile also applied for reënforcements. Colonel Stuart sent one of his commissaries to set the Indians in motion, and the Governor took steps to raise a new corps of loyalists for the expedition to the Natchez. He also requested General Prevost to send as many troops as could be spared from St. Augustine, in order that a detachment might be supplied to Mobile and the garrison at Natchez might be strengthened sufficiently to restore the confidence of the inhabitants there, as

<sup>6</sup> *Report on Amer. Mss.*, I, 191, note 62, 202, 203; Claiborne, *op. cit.*, I, 118; *Report on Amer. Mss.*, I, 197, 213.



otherwise a general exodus of all the settlers on the lower Mississippi and in the adjacent parts of West Florida was to be expected. Although General Prevost found it impracticable to comply with Governor Chester's demand for troops, Governor Tonyn of East Florida wrote (Mar. 31, 1778) that he had dispatched three vessels "to scour the inland passage and frustrate the designs of the Rebels." Later, word reached St. Augustine that two of these, namely, the "Rebecca" and the "Hinchbrook," had fallen a prey to the invaders. Tonyn also ordered Lieut.-Col. Thomas Brown and his regiment of East Florida Rangers to penetrate the province of Georgia as a corps of observation. It may be added that Brown did not return until he had destroyed Fort Barington, some time in the latter part of March.<sup>7</sup>

Meanwhile, the people in the Natchez country had been warned by Colonel Hutchens, who had been carried off a prisoner by Willing's men but had since escaped, that the Americans contemplated a second attack on the river settlements. Accordingly the settlers immediately formed an armed association of some three hundred members and sustained an attack near the White Cliffs, in which a number of the Natchez men were wounded and eight of the enemy were killed. It was just after this experience that those inhabitants of the district who were capable of bearing arms volunteered for garrison duty, repaired Fort Panmure, sent a detachment of their number to Manchac, which was being plundered by some of Willing's men, and garrisoned the old fort there with a party of associated settlers. Having decided that they were no longer bound by their oath of neutrality, they also applied, as seen from Governor Chester's letter to Prevost, which we have given above in substance, for

<sup>7</sup> Thwaites and Kellogg, *op. cit.*, 191, note 62; *Report on Amer. Mss.*, I, 213, 221, 236, 239, 260; Wilbur H. Siebert, "The Legacy of the American Revolution to the British West Indies and Bahamas," *Ohio State University, Bulletin*, XVII, No. 27, 6.

reënforcements. In response to this application Chester sent them a detachment of seventy-five soldiers from his garrison to take post at Manchac, and a small body of loyal Carolina refugees under the command of Capt. Michael Jackson to garrison Fort Panmure. Jackson soon made himself unendurable by his oppressive treatment of the volunteers and inhabitants generally, was placed under arrest by Colonel Hutchens, and Capt. Thaddeus Lyman was put in charge by the associated loyalists at Natchez. Jackson, however, had the support of about thirty deserters and others, and kept the garrison in a distracted condition for several days, being able by his treacherous dealings to reinstate himself in command twice during this period. Then, Lieut.-Col. Alexander Dickson, the commandant at Manchac, dispatched Captain Foster to assume control at Natchez, and Jackson and his followers secretly decamped, carrying with them all the portable property of the fort they could lay their hands on. Those remaining behind who had acted with Jackson were sent under guard to Pensacola, where several were ordered shot.<sup>8</sup> Willing and the rest of his party, meantime, had sailed from Manchac to the Tensaw settlements above Mobile, and had tried to enlist the people there in their cause. In 1779 Captain Willing sent his troops north under the command of Lieut. Robert George, who placed them under the orders of Gen. George Rogers Clark. But Willing himself proceeded to Mobile, where he was captured and placed in confinement in the stone keep of Fort Charlotte. He narrowly escaped being hanged in the plaza in front of that fortress, but was shipped to New York at the close of the year.<sup>9</sup>

If Willing's adventures accomplished nothing for

<sup>8</sup> Anthony Haswell (ed.), *Memoirs and Adventures of Captain Matthew Phelps*; Claiborne, *op. cit.*, I, 121-123; Pickett, *op. cit.*, 348, 349; *Report on Amer. Mss.*, I, 260.

<sup>9</sup> Thwaites and Kellogg, *op. cit.*, 192, note 62; Meek, *op. cit.*, 90.

the Americans, they at any rate moved the new commander in chief of the British forces, Sir Henry Clinton, to send 1,000 troops under Brig.-Gen. John Campbell to Pensacola, at the same time that he dispatched 3,000 under Lieut.-Col. Archibald Campbell to take possession of Savannah. Clinton's instructions to the former officer made it clear that he was to assume command of the king's soldiers in West Florida, that a new fort, already ordered to be erected at Manchac, was to be garrisoned with 300 men, and that two galleys were to be provided for the protection of inland navigation and the prevention of subsequent invasions. The troops which arrived at Pensacola at the close of December, 1778, included two provincial corps, namely, the Pennsylvania Loyalists under the command of Lieut.-Col. William Allen, and the Maryland Loyalists under that of Lieut.-Col. James Chalmers. The strength of these regiments at the end of the following February was 183 and 331 men, respectively. Lieut. Hugh Mackay Gordon of the Sixteenth Regiment of Foot, who mustered them, wrote in March that the Maryland Loyalists could not be mustered until February 22, owing to the number sick with the small-pox, which, he said, carried off a great many and induced General Campbell to disperse one company. The writer described Pensacola as "the worst place in the world," where nothing was to be had but lean pork and beef, except poultry which was extravagantly dear, and added that the only thing in which the place abounded was a beautiful white sand that circulated freely.<sup>10</sup> General Campbell found conditions there so much to his distaste that after a residence of two and one-third months he asked to be relieved, asserting that he was unequal to the fatigue and trouble afflicting him.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> *Report on Amer. Mss.*, I, 314, 323, 339; William O. Raymond (ed.), *Winslow Papers, A. D. 1776-1826*, 39; William O. Raymond's *Ms. notes of Col. Edward Winslow's Muster Rolls*.

<sup>11</sup> *Report on Amer. Mss.*, I, 396.

About a month later the General threw some light upon the situation among the loyalists on the Mississippi by reporting that Captain Hutchens' and Captain Syman's (Lyman's) independent companies, having officers and non-commissioned officers, with few or no men under their command, were to be reduced, and that Captain (Francis) Miller's company, which was still on foot, was to be treated as military or as bateau men. General Campbell also referred to the alarming situation of the garrison at Manchac, which had recently suffered from inundation, was experiencing difficulties in obtaining provisions, was suffering losses by desertion, and was finding that material for the construction of the new fort could not be secured in less than twelve months.<sup>12</sup>

In the meantime Col. John Stuart had died, Feb. 21, 1779, at Pensacola, and at the end of April, Clinton had appointed Capt. Alexander Cameron as superintendent of Indian affairs. Cameron was absent on official business in the Cherokee country at the time, and remained so all summer, with the result that the Indian Department fell into a state of confusion. Early in May Campbell reported to the commander in chief that the Sixteenth Regiment was worn out in the service, and requested another in its place, together with a force of carpenters to make possible the erection of the fort at Manchac. He also discovered that the governor of Louisiana was trying to win the Choctaw to the cause of Spain. At length, on June 15, 1779, the Spanish monarchy declared war against England. Under these circumstances it is not difficult to understand why Spanish officers paid frequent visits to the Natchez District during the same summer. The report that Col. George Rogers Clark had been victorious at Vincennes in the previous February led Campbell to reënforce Lieutenant-Colonel Dickson at Manchac with the Grenadier Company of the Waldeck

<sup>12</sup> *Report on Amer. Mss.*, I, 397, 411, 443, 446, 470.

Regiment, and to deem it prudent to forward the remainder of this corps to the Mississippi as rapidly as transports could be procured.

On August 20, the independence of the American states was proclaimed at New Orleans "by beat of drum," and nine days later two British transports returning from the Amite River, where they had just landed a detachment of the Waldeck troops, were seized at Galveston by the Spaniards, while Galvez was seen marching with considerable force towards Manchac. The strength of the British at this post and at Natchez was at the time (September 14) about 457 men, not including the officers. General Campbell was already at Red Cliffs, at the entrance of Pensacola Harbor, as were also the Pennsylvania Loyalists. The number of vessels in the harbor was insufficient to carry more than 250 men, although Campbell expected to obtain others from Mobile. He had only one armed vessel at hand, a second being on Lake Pontchartrain. The rest of his force was presumably standing on the defensive at Pensacola and Mobile. Thus situated, General Campbell had good reason for writing to Clinton representing his inability to execute Lord George Germain's orders to attack New Orleans. It is, however, stated in some private correspondence of the time that an expedition for this purpose was ready to embark when the news came that Don Galvez had obliged the British troops on the Mississippi to capitulate.<sup>13</sup>

According to local historians Galvez stormed Fort Bute at Manchac on Sept. 7, 1779, and then advanced up the river with 1,500 men to Baton Rouge, whither Colonel Dickson had retreated to make his stand in a more tenable position behind a redoubt and lines lately thrown up at Watt and Flower's plantation. Dickson's force at this point is said to have comprised 400 regulars and 150

<sup>13</sup> *Report on Amer. Mass.*, I, 403, 423, 424, 427, 431, 448, 470, 471, 477; *ibid.*, II, 28, 30, 31, 33, 63.



militia of the country. The commandant's resistance was spirited, though brief, and he capitulated on September 21, surrendering the British posts on the lower Mississippi, the Amite, and Thompson's Creek, and the entire Natchez District. Leaving Colonel Grandpre in command at Natchez, Galvez now returned to New Orleans, and made preparations to reduce Mobile. After breasting a hurricane, he summoned Elias Durnford, the commandant of Fort Charlotte, to surrender on Mar. 1, 1780. Durnford was able to hold out until the thirteenth, when he also capitulated, agreeing to hand over to Spain the whole region from the Perdido to the Pearl.<sup>14</sup>

The next task of Galvez was to take Pensacola. To this end he brought reënforcements and heavy artillery from Havana, and early in April sent a proposal to Campbell for the neutrality of the Indians, a large body of whom had been assembled in the provincial capital. However, the savages lacked the patience to await the Spanish attack and departed day by day, while those who lingered fixed on April 19 or 20 as the date of their departure. At the end of November, 1779, Campbell had disbanded the two companies of loyal refugees raised by Colonel Stuart two years before, but in the following year found it expedient to form a new troop, called the West Florida Royal Foresters, and to erect a redoubt at Red Cliffs for the defense of Pensacola harbor. The troop of Foresters numbered only forty-three on April 1, 1781, while the united corps of Pennsylvania and Maryland Loyalists contained but 310, rank and file, on February 1 of the same year. Campbell's other forces comprised the following regiments: The Royal American, the Third Waldeck, the Sixteenth, the third battalion of the Sixtieth, and a company of Royal Artillery. In the opening days of January, 1781, the Spanish troopships assembled in Mobile Bay, and at daylight on the seventh

<sup>14</sup> *Report on Amer. Mss.*, I, 72, 77, 102; Claiborne, *op. cit.*, I, 125.



a large detachment from Pensacola, consisting of the third battalion of the Sixtieth Regiment, the Waldeck soldiers, the Royal Foresters, and the Pennsylvania and Maryland Loyalists, attacked the enemy's post at Mobile village, only to be repulsed. Some British ships which were ordered to coöperate with the land forces in this assault were prevented from doing so by the weather and the ebb tide.<sup>15</sup>

Galvez now marched his land forces (estimated at 4,000 French and Spanish) to Pensacola, and his fleet entered the harbor there about March 12. From this date until May 9 the bombardment of the place continued with little intermission. During the siege, according to the journal of one of the defenders of Fort George, the loyalist volunteers, the Indians, and the Pennsylvania and Maryland regiments distinguished themselves by their courageous attacks on the enemy. On the night of May 8, a shell falling upon the magazine exploded it and carried away the principal part of the advanced works, besides killing more than 100 men in the fort. This disaster gave the Spanish the opportunity to approach from the landward side and fire at close range, thus considerably increasing the death roll of the British. The situation of those in the beleaguered town had now become so desperate that General Campbell and Governor Chester signed articles of surrender on May 9, yielding the whole province to the arms of Spain. More than a year later Campbell proudly asserted his belief that history would exonerate him for his defeat. This sentiment he expressed in a letter of June 17, 1782, to Galvez, in which he gloried in the recollection, as he put it, of the resistance which his "handfull of gallant and intrepid officers and men" had offered to the "multitude of foes (in the combined forces of France and Spain)" — the narration

<sup>15</sup> *Report on Amer. Mss.*, I, 72, 77, 102; W. O. Raymond's *Ms. Notes of Col. Edward Winslow's Muster Rolls*; *Report on Amer. Mss.*, II, 122, 146, 159, 161, 201, 233, 234, 246.

of which he declared himself quite ready to leave "to the chaste pen of a candid historian."<sup>16</sup>

The settlers in the Natchez District had been astonished by Galvez's easy victory at Baton Rouge, but were fully convinced that he would be overwhelmed at Pensacola. They therefore sent a courier to Campbell, evidently during the Spanish bombardment of the provincial capital, proposing to make a diversion in his favor by rising and recapturing Fort Panmure. The General returned a favorable answer, together with commissions for their officers, in order, as he explained, to prevent the emigration of the people of Mobile and Natchez from West Florida. As matters turned out, he could scarcely have hit on a surer way of promoting their exodus. The officers who were involved in this plot were Col. Anthony Hutchens, Capts. Thaddeus Lyman, Jacob Blomart, and Jacob Winfrey, Philip and John Alston, Thompson Lyman, and Christian Bingaman. At the head of a large number of loyalists, these men took their position on an eminence north of Natchez, April 22, 1781, and were joined there by fifty warriors of the Choctaw nation, who had come in with the courier on his way back from Pensacola. Under the cover of night the insurgents planted their artillery so as to bear on the fort, and the next day an exchange of artillery fire occurred. On the twenty-ninth the Spanish commandant sent a flag of truce to Colonel Hutchens, promising clemency to the armed settlers if they would surrender their leaders and disperse. The royalists promised to return an answer within twenty-four hours, but instead sent a forged letter, purporting to contain the intelligence that Fort Panmure had been mined, that the people of the country were joining the insurgents in large numbers, and that the commandant could only save his garrison by surrender.

<sup>16</sup> Claiborne, *op. cit.*, I, 126; *Report on Amer. Mss.*, II, 279, 281, 286, III, 22.

The ruse was successful, the fort capitulated, and the Spaniards were permitted to withdraw to Baton Rouge under escort. On the way thither the escorting party under Captain Winfrey descried a body of the enemy, accompanied by some Indians, coming up the river, and fled in consternation, although in a skirmish that followed fourteen were killed and some captured. The remainder, who with friends joining them numbered about two hundred, prepared to make a stand against the Spaniards at White Cliffs, but soon received word that General Campbell had been defeated and that West Florida had become a Spanish province.<sup>17</sup>

Thus nothing remained for the insurgents except to seek safety in flight. Accordingly they gathered their families, horses, and movable effects together and fled to the cane swamps. Thence more than a hundred individuals, besides slaves, set out on horseback, with their meager belongings and supplies packed on other horses, for the British settlements on the Savannah. In the course of their wanderings, which lasted five months, they traveled over the prairies in the present state of Mississippi, suffering the pangs of thirst in a season that was unusually dry; they were deprived of their pack-horses and plundered of their effects by hunting parties of Indians; they made a detour near the Tennessee River and penetrated the mountains of Blount County, Alabama, and in July, 1781, worn and starving, they were fortunate enough to find temporary shelter and refreshment in the Creek town at Hickory Ground in the southern part of the present Wetumpka, on the east bank of the Coosa River. Thus rested and recuperated, the party proceeded on its journey, crossing the Tallapoosa, Chattahoochee, and Flint. Then the fugitives divided into two groups, one of which turned in the direction of

<sup>17</sup> Claiborne, *op. cit.*, I, 126-130; Pickett, *op. cit.*, 351-360; *Report on Amer. Mss.*, II, 246, 300.

East Florida and succeeded in reaching Savannah in safety. The other group fell into the hands of the Whigs but, being released, appears to have arrived at the same destination. We are informed that General Lyman and his three sons were among these refugees, and that when the British evacuated Georgia in July, 1782, one of the sons went to New York, another to Nova Scotia, and the third to the island of New Providence in the Bahamas. Two others, Dr. Dwight and his wife, returned to Northampton, Massachusetts, the Doctor being afterwards lost on a voyage to Nova Scotia.<sup>18</sup>

Colonel Hutchens and twenty other men lingered in concealment until they learned that a party of Choctaw was in pursuit of them. Then they started on horseback to overtake the larger party, whose wanderings and sufferings have been briefly described above. On the second night of their flight they were overtaken by the Indians and all were slain but Hutchens and one companion, who managed to escape to Savannah. Thence Mr. Hutchens went to London, where he remained several years, after which he was permitted to return to Natchez through the intercession of the influential loyalist merchant, William Panton at Pensacola, with the Spanish authorities. Then John Alston with another small party of loyalists, which seems to have included Captains Blomart and Winfrey, Parker Carradine, George Rapalje, John Smith, and William Eason, made his way to the Creek nation, where he and his companions were arrested by the Indians. After being carried to Mobile, they were forwarded to New Orleans and condemned to death on the charge of rebellion, but were pardoned by the governor.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Haswell, *op. cit.*, app., 2-17; John W. Monette, *History of the Discovery and Settlement of the Valley of the Mississippi*, 462, 463; Pickett, *op. cit.*, 360; Timothy Dwight, *Travels in New York and New England*, I, 306-316.

<sup>19</sup> Pickett, *op. cit.*, 360; Claiborne, *op. cit.*, I, 131, 133.

Still a fourth party of those active in the revolt, consisting of Capt. Thaddeus Lyman, Philip Alston, Christian Bingham, John Ogg, Caleb Hansborough, John Watkins, William Case, John Turner, Thomas James, Philip Mulkey, Ebenezer Cossett, Thompson Lyman, and Nathaniel Johnson, escaped to the Cumberland settlements in Tennessee. Like the band which had been transported to New Orleans, the members of this party were pardoned and permitted to return to their homes in the Natchez District. Although the Spanish government had confiscated the property of the loyalists, it now cancelled these confiscations in numerous instances, while in other cases it nullified purchases of lands from those insurgents who had sold out before effecting their escape. The properties thus recovered were restored in whole or in part to the original owners, or to their wives and children.<sup>20</sup>

Whether any of the refugees from West Florida became dwellers among the Indians in the present states of Alabama and Mississippi is not known, although local historians assert that many loyalists did so. James G. Gunn, a native of Virginia, was one of those who found an asylum among the Chickasaw, settling first near To-shish in what was later known as Pontotoc County and afterwards in Lee County, Mississippi. Mr. Gunn grew wealthy and owned many negro slaves. It is said that he celebrated the birthday of George III throughout his life, and forbade the commemoration of the Fourth of July on his plantations. His name is perpetuated in that of "Guntown" in Lee County. Among the Tories who sought shelter in the Chickasaw country now constituting Montgomery County, Alabama, were James Russell, Thomas Love, and Messrs. Allen and Pickens. Love married an Indian woman and lived near the site of Mount Meigs. Four of his sons became chiefs among

<sup>20</sup> Claiborne, *op. cit.*, 133-135.



the Chickasaw. Allen acquired a farm near Tocopola. Little is known of Pickens except that he came from South Carolina, where his family had espoused the cause of American independence.<sup>21</sup>

At least one important loyalist remained in West Florida after the Spanish conquest. This was the Scotchman, William Panton, whose large estates in Georgia and South Carolina had been confiscated on account of his adherence to the British Crown, and who established himself on St. Marys River early in the Revolution. Later he removed to Pensacola, where he was carrying on an extensive trade when Galvez took that place in 1781. He soon entered into an agreement with the Spanish authorities which proved of mutual benefit, affording Panton the opportunity of uninterrupted commerce, while the new government of West Florida secured the benefit of his influence over the Indian tribes south of the Tennessee River. Moreover, Panton introduced Col. Alexander McGillivray, the representative of the Creek and Seminole nations, to the Spanish governor of Pensacola, with the result that an arrangement was entered into by which these tribes were to become allies of Spain, make peace with the Chickasaw and Cherokee, surrender all intruders who came to stir up rebellion against the Spanish government, deliver up any white subjects of the United States taking shelter among them, besides fugitive slaves from Louisiana and Florida, and abandon the practice of taking scalps in war. In return for these concessions the Creeks and Seminole were to receive the rights of trade at the most advantageous places. That Panton sacrificed nothing by his services to the new government appears from the fact that in 1789 the firm of Panton, Leslie & Company was in possession of large trading establishments at St. Johns, St. Marks, St. Au-

<sup>21</sup> Mississippi Historical Society, *Publications*, VIII, 543, 545, 560, 586; Pickett, *op. cit.*, 421, 422.



gustine, Mobile, Pensacola, and at Chickasaw Bluff on the Mississippi. The most important of these was at Pensacola, and comprised a store usually containing a stock worth \$50,000, together with warehouses where furs and skins were assorted and packed for the foreign markets, being shipped in schooners belonging to the firm, which constituted a fleet of fifteen vessels.<sup>22</sup>

Of those who were taken prisoners at Pensacola, some families were detained there on account of sickness. When they were able to depart they were shipped to New York by way of Havanna before the end of December, 1781. Brig.-Gen. John Campbell and Capt. Adam Chrystie, the latter being the commanding officer of the Royal Foresters, may have gone with this contingent. At any rate the latter is known to have been at Newton, Long Island, early in April, 1782, and the former in New York City by the middle of the following month. There were fourteen Royal Foresters, sixty-eight Pennsylvania Loyalists, and 137 Maryland Loyalists still at Pensacola on April 24 of the same year. Doubtless they were sent north soon after, some of them being placed in the hospital on their arrival at New York. Indeed, hospital accounts dated June 24, 1782, are still extant for part of the Loyal American Regiment, as well as for part of the Maryland and Pennsylvania corps.<sup>23</sup>

On Sept. 12, 1783, Sir Guy Carleton ordered eleven corps of loyalist troops and detachments of three others transported from New York City to the St. John River in what is now the province of New Brunswick. Among these corps were the Loyal American Regiment and the Pennsylvania and Maryland Loyalists. Most of the families of the Maryland corps sailed in the ship "Martha"

<sup>22</sup> Claiborne, *op. cit.*, 132, note; *American State Papers* (Boston, Wait ed.), X, 223-227; Pickett, *op. cit.*, II, 60, 61.

<sup>23</sup> *Report on Amer. Mss.*, II, 372, 439, 489, 514, 535, 540; W. O. Raymond's *Ms. notes of Col. Edward Winslow's Muster Rolls*; Siebert, *op. cit.*, 13.

with the fall fleet, but their vessel was wrecked late in the same month, off the Tusket River, and over 100 lives were lost. "It is recorded," says Paul Leicester Ford, "that the troop stood drawn up in company order, while the women and children were ordered into the boats, and the few survivors among the men were chiefly saved by clinging to the wreckage." In an undated list of persons who embarked for Nova Scotia, probably aboard the fated transport, we find the names of Lieut.-Col. James Chalmers, organizer of the troop, and Lieut.-Col. William Allen of the Pennsylvania Loyalists. Capt. Adam Chrystie of the Royal Foresters was in New York City, November 3, when he signed a petition for a grant of land in Nova Scotia. A census of the disbanded corps and loyalists on the River St. John, bearing the same date, shows 289 Loyal Americans, seventy-three Pennsylvania Loyalists and seventy-two Maryland Loyalists. These numbers included the women and children, as well as the men. Most of these people were already settled on their lands, the location of the Marylanders being on the east side of the river in the parish of St. Mary's, and that of the Pennsylvanians being in Southampton and Northampton parishes on the same side. Part of the Loyal American Regiment also settled on the St. John, being scattered in various communities, while the remainder went to Nova Scotia.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>24</sup> W. O. Raymond, *Winslow Papers*, 132, 133, 156, note, 211, note, 243, note, 244, 245; *Orderly Book of the Maryland Loyalist Regiment*, II; *Report on Amer. Mss.*, IV, 105, 380, 409, 420, 440, 443, 479; New Brunswick Historical Society, *Collections*, No. 5, 206, 207.

## HORACE HOLLEY, LL.D.: THIRD PRESIDENT OF OLD TRANSYLVANIA <sup>1</sup>

BY JOHN WILSON TOWNSEND

One hundred and thirty-four years ago Horace Holley was born. In a most direct line he was descended from the famous Edmund Halley, the English astronomer, whose comet, like many another good thing, went wrong several years ago. The American founder of his family, John Holley, was one of the big men of seventeenth-century Connecticut; and his father, Luther Holley, was a business man of ability, around whose memory lingers the excellent tradition that he, like Lord Macaulay, could repeat the whole of "Paradise Lost." Horace Holley's mother was Sarah Dakin, one of the Dresden-china type of women, reminding one of a delicate piece of porcelain. And these two, Luther and Sarah (Dakin) Holley, were the parents not only of him whom we remember today, but of Myron Holley, the famous New England reformer, who occupies a larger place in American history than does his younger brother.

The little town of Salisbury, Connecticut, is the place, and Feb. 13, 1781, is the date of Horace Holley's birth. In school before he was four years old, and finishing it when he was ten, Horace spent the next three or four years in study at home and in business with his father. His mind becoming more and more engrossed in intellectual pursuits, it was finally decided to give him a college education. So, in 1797, at the age of sixteen years, he

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<sup>1</sup> This paper is based largely on Charles Caldwell's *Discourse on the Genius and Character of the Rev. Horace Holley, LL.D., late President of Transylvania University* (Boston, 1828).

entered the preparatory department of Williams College, Williamstown, Massachusetts. Here he spent two years, at the end of which time he went to New Haven and matriculated as a freshman at Yale. Yale was then flourishing under the auspices of its great president, Timothy Dwight, and the brilliant youngster and the old poet-president became boon companions, a friendship that was only terminated with Dwight's death. Holley was an excellent student, besides being one of the best speakers in the college, and the social "star" of the town. In 1803, as the class orator, the degree of bachelor of arts was conferred on him.

The great religious revival that swept over New Haven in 1803 found many converts in the men of Yale; and among them, as you have anticipated, was Horace Holley. This awakening left its impress upon him, and though he went to New York City soon after graduation to study law in the office of Riggs & Radcliff, he could not get away from his conversion, if we may so term it. For several months he devoted himself assiduously to the law, but it soon became so distasteful to him that he gave it up and returned to New Haven to study theology under President Dwight. Though bred a strict Calvinist, Holley soon became a Unitarian, as exemplified in the teachings of William Ellery Channing and the other New England preachers of that faith. He pursued his studies with great enthusiasm and rapidly finished his course.

On Jan. 1, 1805, Horace Holley married Mary Austin, of New Haven, who was afterward to become his best biographer, and the author of the well-known *History of Texas*. From their union two children were born, the elder of whom died some fourteen years ago.

On September 13 of this same year of 1805 Holley was ordained at Greenfield Hill, Connecticut — the lovely little town that Dwight celebrated in his pastoral poem of that name, a poem that was read more a century ago

than it is today — by the Western Consociation of Fairfield County, Connecticut; and the Society “Voted to give Mr. Holley \$560 per year for his services in the ministry, so long as said society and Mr. Holley could agree.” For three years they did agree, at the end of which time the pastor, looking for fairer financial fields, let his eyes behold Marblehead, Massachusetts, but after a few weeks he pronounced it not good, and decided to look farther. Middletown, Connecticut, and Albany, New York, made him offers, which he declined, and descended upon Boston. There he preached in the Old South Church to crowded congregations for a time. After several trial sermons, which were declared excellent, the great Hollis Street Unitarian Church invited him to become its pastor, and this he did.

Installed on Mar. 8, 1809, Holley spent the next nine years of his life, the most pleasant years he was to spend in the world, as pastor of that church. There was a thorough and most cordial understanding and sympathy between minister and people, and we may well believe that he was happy.

It was while at Hollis Street that to all intents and purposes Holley admitted to a company of clergymen his disbelief in the divinity of Christ to the extent “that the being,” as he phrased it, “called Jesus Christ, who lived, and walked about, and ate, and drank, and died, on this earth, was verily the eternal God, the great First Cause of all things.” And then to illustrate what a nice mind he had, he said in a sermon, “What is Christian faith? The intelligent and honest acknowledgment that Jesus is the Christ. What is the term of Christian communion in the article of faith? The same acknowledgment that Jesus is the Christ.” This distinction is one of the paradoxes of Unitarianism, you may say, and you may be right! Of course, in this he denied the doctrine of the Trinity; and he clave unto all the other principles



of his church. Truth was what he most desired, and if he saw it in Unitarianism, why, that was his affair, not ours. Surely, though, we can all come in on his definition of religion as the love of God and man, as it is the same definition that the Saviour gave centuries ago.

Besides his pastoral duties Holley was a member of the Board of Overseers of Harvard College, of the Boston School Committee, and of many other literary and benevolent institutions. To all of them he gave himself unstintingly.

And then, at the acme of his power as one of the great pulpit orators of the whole country, when his influence for good was greatest, like a bolt from the blue he heard the call of the wild, the great West began its pounding in his pulses, a pounding that never ceased until he went to the undiscovered country.

In 1815 Dr. Holley — for he was now wearing the degree of Doctor of Laws — was elected to the presidency of Transylvania University, but he was then wise enough to ignore the siren's voice. The trustees camped on his trail, however, and, in November, 1817, he was again unanimously invited to accept the office. Their perseverance, perhaps as much as anything else, kindled his curiosity, and so, in March of the following year, he left Boston for Lexington, the capital of Blue Grass Kentucky. He stopped in Washington, where he met many members of Congress and delighted them with his power as a preacher. Journeying through Virginia he visited in Richmond, and then tarried awhile with Jefferson at charming "Monticello."

Arriving in Lexington he was greeted with real acclaim as the one man who could bring sanity and wisdom, which spelled success, into the management of the University. Carefully considering the institution, the town, and the country, Holley sent his acceptance to the board on April 7; and a short time thereafter they met and unanimously elected him president of Transylvania.



While in Lexington Dr. Holley wrote some very delightful letters home, from one of which we desire to quote:

LEXINGTON, May 27th, 1818.

The town and vicinity are very handsome. The streets are broad, straight, paved, clean, and have rows of trees on each side. The houses are of brick almost universally, many of them in the midst of fields, and have a very rural and charming appearance. The taste is for low houses, generally two, sometimes even but one story high, like English cottages.

In the afternoon I walked about town with Mr. [Henry] Clay, and called at a few charming houses. I visited also the Athenaeum, an institution not yet furnished with many books, but well supplied with newspapers, and the best periodicals. I find everything of this sort, which is valuable, from Boston and the other Atlantic cities.

This morning I breakfasted at Mr. Clay's, who lives a mile and a half from town. He arrived here only three days before me. Ashland is a very pleasant place, handsomer than I anticipated. The grounds are beautiful, the lawns and walks extensive, the shrubbery luxuriant, and the garden well supplied. The native forest of ash in the rear adds a charming effect to the whole. After breakfast Mr. Clay rode with me and we went with the trustees, by appointment, to the college to visit the professors and students. They were all collected in the largest hall to receive us. I made a short address, which was received in a kind manner. I was then conducted to the library, the apparatus, and the recitation rooms. The library is small, and the apparatus smaller. There is no regular division of students into classes as in other colleges, and but few laws. Everything is to be done and so much the better, as nothing is to be reformed. Almost the whole is proposed to be left to me to arrange. I am now making all necessary inquiries, and a meeting of the trustees is to be called next week.

After this visit, I went with a party of ladies and gentlemen nine miles into the country to the seat of Colonel [David] Mead (1744-1838) (situated just off the Harrodsburg pike), where we dined and passed the day. This gentleman, who is near seventy, is a Virginian of the old school. He has been a good deal

in England in his youth, and brought home with him English notions of a country seat, though he is a great republican in politics. He and his wife dress in the costume of the olden time. He has the square coat and green cuffs, the vest of the court, short breeches, and white stockings, at all times. Mrs. Mead has the long waist, the white apron, the stays, the ruffles about the elbows, and the cap of half a century ago. She is very mild and ladylike, and though between sixty and seventy, plays upon the piano-forte with the facility and cheerfulness of a young lady. Her husband resembles Colonel Pickering in the face and the shape of the head. He is entirely a man of leisure, never having followed any business, and never using his fortune but in adorning his place and entertaining his friends and strangers. No word is ever sent to him that company is coming. To do so offends him. But a dinner — he dines at the hour of four — is always ready for visitors; and the servants are always in waiting.

Twenty of us went out today without warning, and were entertained luxuriously on the viands of the country. Our drink consisted of beer, toddy and water. Wine, being imported and expensive, he never gives; nor does he allow cigars to be smoked in his presence. His house consists of a cluster of rustic cottages, in front of which spreads a beautiful, sloping lawn as smooth as velvet. From this diverge, in various directions, and forming vistas terminated by picturesque objects, groves and walks extending over some acres. Seats, Chinese temples, verdant banks and alcoves are interspersed at convenient distances. The lake, over which presides a Grecian temple, that you may imagine to be the residence of the water nymphs, has in it a small island, which communicates with the shore by a white bridge of one arch. The whole is surrounded by a low rustic fence of stone, surmounted and almost hidden by honeysuckle and roses, now in full flower, and which we gathered in abundance to adorn the ladies. Everything is laid out for walking and pleasure. His farm he rents, and does nothing for profit. The whole is in rustic taste. You enter from the road, through a gate between rude and massive columns, a field without pretension, wind a considerable distance through a noble park to an inner gate, the capitals to whose pillars are unique, being formed of the roots of trees, carved by nature. The rich

scene of cultivation, of verdure and flower-capped hedges, bursts upon you. There is no establishment like this in our country. Instead of a description, I might have given you its name, "Chaumiere du Prairies."

Wouldn't you like to know what part, if any, this great lord of the land played in the little tragedy we are now about to stage, which may be entitled "The Power of Darkness"?

Immediately after his election Holley informed the Hollis Street Church of his determination, and he traveled home at once to make preparations for the removal of his family. He preached a great valedictory sermon to his congregation, gathered his family around him, together with two graduates of Harvard, and in September was off again for Kentucky. He arrived in Lexington in the late autumn, and his presence was welcomed by the illumination of the college building, and many other manifestations of great joy. On Dec. 19, 1818, Dr. Holley was inaugurated as third president of Transylvania University, and he at once entered upon the arduous task of converting a grammar school into a university. He had everything to plan, but he set himself to the work like the big man he was. His heart and soul he dedicated on Transylvania's ever-burning altar.

In order to get the proper perspective, we must go back a bit. Transylvania University is the result of the consolidation of two preparatory schools: Transylvania Seminary of Lexington, founded in 1785, and Kentucky Academy of Pisgah, founded in 1795. The union of these two took place in 1798, and the next year the Rev. James Moore, the famous flute-playing parson, whom James Lane Allen has so exquisitely interwoven into his Kentucky tales and romances, became the first president of the infant University.

President Moore, though a most charming gentleman, was not a great college president. So, after five

years, he was succeeded by Dr. James Blythe, a man more interested in the chemistry of matter than in the matter of men. President Blythe continued as head of the University in embryo for fourteen years, during which time he succeeded most admirably in keeping it in all sorts of religious tangles and warm controversies of various kinds. The curriculum was a pathetic joke, and during the first twenty years of its existence, that is, throughout the reigns of the parson and the physician, the little college graduated exactly twenty-two men.

The Kentucky Presbyterians seemed to think that the University belonged to them, and with their abominable sectarianism they had torn the institution well-nigh asunder. Though the state legislature ousted their board and elected a new board composed of several of the distinguished men of the Commonwealth, who were anxious to work hand in hand with Holley, they yet endeavored to hold on to the University; the Lexington Presbyterians were the last to welcome the new president; and an Ohio Presbyterian weekly was always his harshest critic. Centre College of Danville is a most magnificent memorial to the Holley crusade. This is history, not prejudice.

President Holley having partly finished the work of regeneration and overhauling, within three years students from all over the Mississippi Valley were crowding the halls of the institution; the intellectual life of the whole western people was quickened; European gazetteers began to refer to Lexington as the seat of Transylvania University, "The Athens of the West" — a sobriquet that Horace Holley had more to do with winning for that city than even the mighty Henry Clay. The future was indeed bright; state and church in the administration of Transylvania seemed to be at last separated; the new president was, as we put it today, "making good." His faculty was composed of famous men, at the head of whom stood Constantine Samuel Rafinesque,

the scientist and historian, "the most learned man in America," to revive the characterization of his contemporaries.

It was not long, however, and more's the pity, before President Holley had raised up a coterie of enemies determined to destroy him. These enemies, in many instances the recipients of hospitality in his home and kindnesses from his hand, began to circulate all sorts of silly stories about the man, the preacher, the professor, and the president. He had a small bust of a Grecian goddess in the nude in his home, and because it "was not covered to the very ears in an 'inky cloak,' it was 'worse poison to men's souls' than a pagan idol, or a 'Druid's oak.' " This was one of the proofs that Dr. Holley was no Christian! Of course, his maligners were ignorant of the views of the Unitarian, and so again, of course, Holley was an infidel, a most dangerous instructor of youth. The government of the University was represented to be lax, the students an idle, dissipated set of ne'er-do-wells; the University was a "rich man's institution." And if it were, it could not well be otherwise with practically no endowment or state aid! And so, with damning falsehood, denunciation, malice, all "modes of moral assassination" known to men, were used to dethrone the character of Transylvania's great president.

Holley's mistake in dealing with his enemies was this: Like the Standard Oil Company, he maintained a "dignified silence," seldom replying to pamphlet, newspaper, or magazine criticisms, or public denunciation, hoping always, and always in vain, to "kill false accusations with silence." His enemies, like the very dogs of war, were united; he stood alone, with only an occasional friend to speak a word for him in printer's ink. His wife thought that he should have established "an academical paper," which, wisely conducted, would most probably have saved him and the University he loved so



well. Dr. Holley did not seem to realize with Joseph Addison that "envy is a tax which a man owes to his contemporaries for the privilege of being distinguished"; and had he done so, the end of this story would be more remote.

A tactless political speech, delivered by one of the students, and without the president's knowledge; the denunciation of an unspeakable Desha, whom the people of this state were at one time so unfortunate as to elect governor of Kentucky; and the accumulated criticisms of half a dozen years, convinced Holley that he was not appreciated and he decided to resign. Nine of the best years of his life were given to Transylvania, his "foster child." In January, 1826, he had asked the Board of Trustees to accept his resignation, but they declined to do so. Now, however, in the early spring of 1827, he insisted that his resignation take immediate effect; and it was done.

In making his final report to the trustees, President Holley pointed out some interesting facts. During the session just closing 286 students were matriculated in the University; attention was called to the excellent condition of the grounds and buildings — "in the whole establishment there is not a pane of glass out"; the condition of the libraries, apparatus, and cabinet, was noted; the course of study was wisely commented upon; the number of degrees conferred from the beginning of his incumbency (1818) to the present time (1827) — 660, of which forty were honorary, as against twenty-two that were granted from 1802 to 1818; some of the wants of the University; the revival of the law school; chairs of French and Spanish; a gymnasium; a provision to increase the libraries; an art gallery.

This resignation and report was dated "Lexington, March 24, 1827," and if all other evidence were lacking this alone would prove Holley's great worth and success



as a college president, and, also, that he was thinking fifty years or more in advance of his time; but because he saw no harm in a horse race, a toddy, a dance, a hearty laugh, an excellent theatrical performance; because, in sooth, he was "a good fellow," believing that it was quite possible for one to keep Christ in one's heart without wearing crepe on one's countenance, his power as a pulpit orator, his wonderful work for Transylvania, all, all his series of signal successes were forgotten, and he was utterly damned!

Speaking for the Board of Trustees, old John Bradford, Kentucky's pioneer journalist, penned these prophetic sentences:

Within the walls of Transylvania the fond recollections of her polite, kind, generous, learned, accomplished, and much loved President will never perish. The patronage of the Commonwealth may be withdrawn, the institution may decline, the walls themselves may be crumbled; but so long as the name remains there will be associated with it the most affectionate remembrances that flow from mutual attachments, or have a habitation in the hearts of those who are susceptible of the emotions of gratitude. To whatever clime your destiny may direct you, you will be pursued by the esteem and confidence of those who have been so long and so intimately associated with you, and whom we on this occasion represent. Farewell!

A valedictory address must, of course, be delivered, and in this two-hour discourse he touched upon everything from his report to the trustees, to females, happiness, immortality, politics, and his return. He seems to have held, like many another man, that he "could come back."

Leaving Lexington on Mar. 27, 1827, he was accompanied by his friends and admirers for several miles out of town, the last expression of their love and esteem.

Holley had a dream for the sons of the southern planters, and it was this: He desired to take a goodly company of them to Europe, living most of the time in

Paris, and then to educate them with books and travel on the continent and in England. He went to New Orleans, where he hoped to gather his boys together, and to sail from that port. On arriving in New Orleans, however, he found himself welcomed almost as cordially as he had been in Lexington some ten years before. He was offered the presidency of the reorganized College of New Orleans, and he at once accepted it, abandoning his idea for the sons of the planters at the same time. The Louisianians exhibited unlimited faith in the late president of Transylvania, practically agreeing to build him a university, and then if he would only accept it, ultimately to present it to him. He acceded to their wishes and at once set the wheels of regeneration into motion.

But the summer wore on apace, and it is a deal warmer on Canal Street in New Orleans than it is on Market Street in Lexington. Holley, exhausted with work and overcome with lassitude, finally decided to drop the rein for a while and take a long rest. Passage on the packet "Louisiana" was engaged, and the tedious trip to New York City was begun. For the first few days all went well, and then, "yellow fever aboard!" was the awful cry. Holley was stricken, and on the last day of July, 1827, he died. His body was consigned to the waters of the Gulf of Mexico; but the flight of years seem to serve as guardians of a memory perennially green.

Such is the imperfect tale of the years of Horace Holley, the famous, the much-maligned president of old Transylvania.

## THE AFRICAN APPRENTICE BILL

BY STELLA HERRON

That those interested in the political welfare of Louisiana looked not to the territories of the United States but to the countries southward for additional strength was shown not only by newspaper editorials, but also by the proceedings of the session of the Louisiana legislature in 1858. The defeat and arrest of General Walker in Nicaragua had brought disappointment to those whose hopes for one reason or another were centered in Central America. On January 20 Senator Henry St. Paul of New Orleans introduced resolutions in reference to the action of Paulding in Nicaragua. They declared that as the Americans had gone to Nicaragua in good faith, at the instigation of and from the inducements held out by the people and government of Nicaragua, had acquired certain rights, and as they had suffered great and grievous wrongs in not being permitted to enjoy their property in that country, and in being denied the right of living there, that full investigation should be made, and their losses repaired as far as possible. The following was the conclusion:

*Resolved,* That the course of the Federal Government in authorizing the armed intervention of the United States Navy in the domestic affairs of a foreign nation, is contrary to every principle of international law, and that, in the opinion of this body, the present administration of the United States by the course it has pursued in overstepping its obligations to the civilized world in the enforcement of the neutrality law, has manifested a settled hostility to American progress and Southern enterprise, contrary to the fundamental spirit of the Cincinnati convention, adverse to the hopes which the people of the

South had a right to entertain from the pledges and antecedents of its Executive.

The resolutions passed the first and second readings and were ordered printed.

On the same day Delony of East Feliciana introduced a joint resolution affirming the principle of the Monroe Doctrine and sympathizing with the attempts to regenerate Central America. In regard to the arrest of Walker he said:

The recent arrest by Paulding of Walker and his followers in the territory of the Nicaraguan Republic constitutes a gross and unparalleled outrage on the law of nations and individual liberty, and a disgrace to the name and character of the American people; is a flagrant departure from the spirit and pledges of the Cincinnati resolutions and reveals a manifest intent or tendency to restrain or stifle the legitimate aspirations of the South and crush out what may still remain in Southern hearts of spirit and resolution.

The Committee on Federal Relations to whom the resolutions were referred reported them back with some modifications. On February 26 they were laid on the table subject to call. No more mention was made of them.

Governor Wickliffe's message was received on January 30. In it he took a very decided position on the rights of the South. The President received praise for having in his "recommendations to Congress gone far to do us justice in a matter most concerning our future growth." The abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty was earnestly to be desired, for then the Monroe Doctrine could be applied and European despots excluded from interfering in matters exclusively affecting the interests of the people and the government. He maintained that:

It is clearly manifest that the Southern States of this Union must look Southward for that expansion of the slavery area, so necessary for the maintenance of the equilibrium of

the United States Senate and for the future progress of their agricultural prosperity. It is just and right that the Federal Government and the Northern States bow to the immutable decrees of a natural law and not resist the South in the spread of her institution to regions so palpably pointed to by the finger of destiny for her occupation.

The state right's theory was especially emphasized.<sup>1</sup>

In this plan for expansion as outlined by the governor and the resolutions, there was no hint of secession. It was assumed that the North would acquiesce; the application of the Monroe Doctrine would render England powerless and so the South could develop.

There was another phase of the question that received the attention of the Louisiana legislature. The principle of nonintervention by Congress had been secured but in order to reap any benefit from this, it was necessary to increase the supply of slaves. More than one in the South had come to realize the danger of removing slaves from the border states. To continue doing this would be merely playing into the hands of the Abolitionists; for free labor would come in to take the place of the slaves and these states would no longer have a common interest with the slaveholding states. Realizing this, many came to feel that in agreeing to the prohibition of the African slave trade, the South had injured herself.

South Carolina was the first state in which it was suggested that Congress should repeal the law. The growth of public opinion in regard to this question is seen in the discussions of the southern commercial conventions. In the 1855 convention, which met at New Orleans, Dr. McGimsey of Louisiana introduced a resolution recommending the senators and representatives in Congress to introduce a bill to repeal all laws suppressing the slave trade. It was referred to the general com-

<sup>1</sup> Resolution and Message in *Louisiana Senate Journal*, session of 1858.



mittee but no report was made upon it so there was no discussion.<sup>2</sup> In the Savannah convention of 1856 considerable time was devoted to the discussion of the measure. A resolution was introduced which suggested the appointment of a committee to make a thorough investigation of slavery in all its bearings, and also of the propriety of reopening the African slave trade. After full discussion this was rejected.<sup>3</sup> When this same question was brought up in the Knoxville convention in 1857 it met with better success, for the committee was appointed.

The question of reopening the slave trade was introduced in Congress but failed to pass, although "fifty-seven Southern congressmen refused to declare a reopening of the slave trade shocking to the moral sentiment of the enlightened portion of mankind and eight refused to call the reopening unwise and inexpedient."<sup>4</sup>

As this plan had failed, another scheme was evolved by which to gain a labor supply. The movement was first set on foot in Mississippi, when on Nov. 19, 1857, Senator Hughes introduced into the legislature a bill for the charter of the African Immigration Company. The session closed the next day, so no action was taken.

In Louisiana, January 28, Henry St. Paul of New Orleans gave notice of a bill to authorize the governor of the state to contract for the introduction of 2,500 free black laborers from the coast of Africa; and providing for the government and redemption of said free blacks. An account of the impression that this created in the Senate was given by the Baton Rouge correspondent of the *Daily Delta*:

The Hotspur of the Senate, Henry St. Paul of New Orleans, today went through the preliminary form of initiating the boldest stroke of State policy known in the annals of South-

<sup>2</sup> *De Bow's Review*, XVIII, 628.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, XXII, 92.

<sup>4</sup> W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America, 1638-1870*.



ern legislation for half a century. When the notice was read by the Secretary, such of the Senators as were not prepared for anything so utterly astounding gazed around them as though they were under the impression that a mine had exploded. It was a theme of much conversation and varied comments in the House.<sup>5</sup>

The bill which was acted upon read as follows:

Section I. Be it *Resolved*, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana in General Assembly convened, That James H. Brigham and his associates be and they are hereby authorized to import into the State of Louisiana for agricultural and laboring purposes, twenty-five hundred free Africans;

*Provided* they shall be indentured as apprentices to labor for a term of years which the parties may agree upon between themselves, not less than 15 years.<sup>6</sup>

When the bill was introduced into the Senate, March 11, a number of substitutes and amendments were offered but not carried. March 12, the bill was passed on its final reading by the casting vote of Lieutenant-Governor Mouton. The vote of the members stood twelve to twelve. When the clerk announced this result, Mouton said distinctly and emphatically that he was fully aware of the responsibility he should assume by the act that he was about to do; but as he was of the opinion that the time had arrived when the South should think, act, and provide for herself, he should vote "Yes." "There was a burst of applause from hundreds of auditors in the lobby, partly from admiration of the chivalric course of the presiding officer and partly doubtless from the success of the measure on that reading."

It was the object of the supporters of the bill to put it on its final passage at the earliest practicable moment. This could not be done on the thirteenth except by taking it up out of the regular order, and to do this required a

<sup>5</sup> *Daily Delta*, Jan. 31, 1858.

<sup>6</sup> *Daily Crescent*, Mar. 22, 1858.

two-thirds vote of the Senate, which was an impossible thing. But according to the new rule, members were allowed in alphabetical order to call up bills out of the regular order. Then the object of the opponents was to prevent a quorum by nonattendance. On this day there was something more than a quorum (seventeen) present. After one or two unimportant bills, Mr. Laidlaw called up the African Apprentice Bill. When the title was read, Pearce, senator from Bienville, moved adjournment and immediately disappeared, not waiting to vote; sixteen answered, all opposed to adjournment. No further action could be had on that or any other measure. The President stated that the African Apprentice Bill was before the Senate and would *remain before it until disposed of*. The implication was clear that no other business would be transacted until a final vote was taken upon the bill. And it was the evident determination of the advocates of the bill to support this position of the President to an extremity.

According to the press the question was very much complicated and rendered quadruply interesting by the fact, now generally understood, that advices had reached Baton Rouge from Washington adverse to the measure. "Wheels within wheels." The Baton Rouge correspondent concluded his account by saying, "on March 14th the bill was defeated in the Senate on its final reading by the withdrawal from its support of one of its warmest friends — Colonel Simmes. The vote stood for it 13; against it 15. Washington City has done the work."<sup>7</sup> According to the *Ouachita Register*, Colonel Simmes, while appreciating the justice and necessity of the bill, felt that it was due his constituents to postpone action thereon until the next session of the legislature and in voting for its postponement, he pledged himself to introduce the bill at the next session.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> *Daily Crescent*, Mar. 16 and 17, 1858.

<sup>8</sup> *Daily Delta*, April 3, 1858.

A Senate committee had been appointed to investigate the African Immigration Bill. In its report it said: "We have had the same under our deliberate consideration, and after viewing it in all its bearings, have come to the conclusion that the measure is a good one, and ought to pass." It treated the legal, moral, and economic aspects of the question. It was not in violation of the state or federal Constitution or of treaty stipulations, or of any law of the state. Considering the barbarous condition of the African negro, emigration to the South would be a blessing. After their term of service was over the negroes could indenture themselves for a longer period until they had earned sufficient money to carry them home or to Liberia. They could thus carry the blessings of Republican government and the Christian religion to their countrymen. Economically it would be an advantage, for an additional labor supply was needed. Negro labor was better adapted to the cultivation of the great staples than any other labor. The whole world needed more of the staples and Louisiana should supply the demand. The only mention of a political need was that with the greater demand for negro labor, the price of slaves would rise until only the wealthy could own them. "The consequence would be estates of enormous magnitude at variance with the general weal and not altogether consistent with the genius of republican institutions."<sup>9</sup> The Senate, before its adjournment, ordered the printing of 10,000 copies of this report. The *Picayune* said that this showed that the project was not given up; the supporters of the bill evidently wished to gain the favor of the public for their scheme. The editor continued:

Its appearance in the Legislature was a surprise to the people, who had never looked, or asked for, or authorized such a sudden change in the long established and best settled policy

<sup>9</sup> *De Bow's Review*, XXIV, 421-424.

of the State. The vote in both Houses was a still greater surprise. Successful in one branch and barely defeated in the other against the pressure of outside influence and under circumstances of excitement rarely exhibited in the staid city of Baton Rouge. Yet outside of the Legislature and away from the influence gathered there to lobby the measure through before it could be revoked by popular opinion, the judgment against it is that of strong and unqualified disapproval.

As there would not be an election before the next meeting of the legislature, the only thing the people could do to defeat it was to express their disapproval through the press and through all organs which make public opinion known.<sup>10</sup>

As far as the details of the apprentice scheme were concerned, the Mississippi and Louisiana companies seemed to be alike. The following explanation was given of the legality of the measure. The criminal clause of the Federal Slave Trade Acts was this:

That from and after the first day of January, 1808, it shall not be lawful to import or bring into the United States or the Territories thereof any negro, mulatto, or person of color with intent to hold, sell, or dispose of such negro etc. as a slave or to be held to service or labor.

The apprentice scheme proposed the procuring of the voluntary arrival of voluntary laborers and this would be no violation of the law.<sup>11</sup> Mr. Hughes had engaged a gentleman eminently qualified to proceed to Africa and as a witness and superintendent attend to the voluntary enlistment and documentation of the negroes; and they were to be advised that the probabilities but not the certainties were that they would after the expiration of their term of service, be elevated into warranteism.<sup>12</sup>

The *Crescent* and the *Daily Delta* were the only New Orleans papers that supported the scheme. The *Delta*

<sup>10</sup> *Daily Picayune*, Mar. 21, 1858.

<sup>11</sup> *Daily Delta*, Feb. 9, 1858.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, Mar. 9, 1858.

considered it the only practical measure for the "balance of power within the Union or an increase of power without the Union."<sup>13</sup> The *Crescent*, while maintaining the legality of the measure, could "see no reason why Southern Legislatures should be overscrupulous regarding the laws of Congress, when the Northern Legislatures break them and recommend their constituents to violate them just to injure the South. With the South, the game has been a losing one for more than twenty-five years and it is likely to remain so; we see no reason why it should be played much longer."<sup>14</sup>

The *Commercial Bulletin* (May 19) quoted nineteen papers of the parishes, representing Old Line Whigs, Democrats, Americans, and Independents, all expressing disapproval of the bill on the grounds of legality, moral principle, and expediency. This same paper (March 8) considered that the proposition to incite the citizens of Louisiana to engage in an illicit trade under the subterfuge of its being an apprentice system did not become the dignity of any legislative body.

Many and varied were the arguments for the slave trade. Economically it would mean the regeneration of the South; for all her natural resources could be exploited, railroads built, factories established, and cities built up. The value of the American-born negroes would increase for they could be used as couple workers — that is they would work with and train the African negro. Politically it would be of value for all could own negroes and so there would no longer be in the South two classes with distinct interests. The border states would remain Southern in interest as they would keep their slaves. Morally it would be important because it would bring the African negro under the influence of civilization and Christianity.

<sup>13</sup> *Daily Delta*, Mar. 22, 1858.

<sup>14</sup> *Daily Crescent*, Mar. 22, 1858.



The principal argument against it was that whether instituted in the form of an apprentice scheme or a direct reopening it would be in violation of the Constitution, and as long as the state remained in the Union the laws should be obeyed. To many the first plan was more objectionable than the second. The Apprentice Bill would be in violation of the laws of Louisiana in regard to free negroes. The policy was to discourage their presence. Again, all Christendom was against the trade and so for the South to reopen it would place her in the position of antagonizing the whole civilized world. In case of a conflict with the North her cause would be weakened.

A resolution recommending the reopening of the African slave trade was introduced into the Texas House. It was referred to a committee which made a very elaborate report; no action was recommended because of the unpreparedness of the public mind.<sup>15</sup>

The question now comes as to what was the purpose of the movement. It seems of some significance that St. Paul, who introduced the Nicaragua resolutions, was the same person who introduced the African Apprentice Bill; and that Delony, who presented the resolution in reference to the Monroe Doctrine, was from Feliciana, the headquarters of the Brigham Company. On February 19, Delony introduced a resolution that that part of the Governor's message relating to the abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, the equilibrium of the United States Senate, and the expansion of the area of slavery be referred to the Committee on Federal Relations. On March 3 St. Paul introduced a bill for the better protection of the war material belonging to the state.

At the commercial convention held in Montgomery in 1858 the discussion of the reopening of the African slave trade occupied almost the entire time. The major-

<sup>15</sup> *Daily Delta*, Jan. 29, 1858.



ity of the members considered this as a proposition for the dissolution of the Union. Yancey acknowledged this but thought it a better issue than the election of a Black Republican president in 1860, when all the powers of the government, its army, its navy, and its treasury would be arrayed against the South.<sup>16</sup> All his later actions and words showed that he disapproved of the trade.

The attitude of Yancey and a few other of the radical "fire eaters" would seem to indicate that the attempted action in Louisiana was part of a movement to secure the dissolution of the Union and the creation of a separate confederacy in which they could develop without interference from northern fanatics.

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<sup>16</sup> *De Bow's Review*, XXIV, 600.

## THE VIGILANCE COMMITTEES OF THE ATTA- KAPAS COUNTRY; OR EARLY LOUISIANA JUSTICE<sup>1</sup>

BY H. L. GRIFFIN

The expression "Early Justice in Louisiana" is meant to apply to the administration of justice, not in the whole state of Louisiana, but only in that part known as the Attakapas Country. The "justice" with which this paper will deal was dispensed in that region for a period of about six months during the year 1859; and was in nature somewhat akin to that justice dealt out a few years later by such organizations as the Ku Klux Klan. The organizations in this instance were known as Committees of Vigilance, or in the language of the natives of that section "Comités de Vigilance." These committees represented a popular uprising against a wave of crime that was sweeping over the region at that time and were revolutionary in character. They took the law into their own hands and dealt out punishment to criminals without any pretense to legality or to established rules of procedure. Before, however, one can well understand all the incidents of such a grave and radical movement, it is necessary that he get a view of the country and its inhabitants.

This region includes the present parishes of Calcasieu, Lafayette, St. Landry, St. Martin, and Vermillion. It is called the Attakapas Country because it was at one

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<sup>1</sup> This paper is based on the following sources of information: Alexander Barde, *Histoire des Comités de Vigilance aux Attakapas*; William H. Perrin (ed.), *Southwest Louisiana*; Felix Voorhies, Ms. on "Vigilance Committees"; interviews with Judge Felix Voorhies, Judge William Campbell, Alexander Mouton, and Maj. Paul DeClouet.

time inhabited by a fierce race of Indians of that name, who had the reputation of eating their prisoners of war. It was to this country that the exiled Acadians came to find permanent homes and a refuge from the political persecutions of their English conquerors. The broad, rolling prairies, the densely wooded forests, and the deep, murky, lazily flowing bayous, such as the Atchafalaya, the Teche, and the Vermillion have been most effectively described in Longfellow's *Evangeline*, and need no further description here. It is enough to say that the whole region is characterized by a richness of soil that can be found nowhere else in the United States. The opportunities which it offers for agricultural pursuits have always been great; and since its first discovery and exploration by La Salle and Bienville, these opportunities have attracted home-seekers from many parts of the world.

Before the purchase of Louisiana from Napoleon by the United States in 1803, many settlers had come to this Attakapas Country, especially from France, Spain, the Canary Islands, and Acadia. Subsequent to its purchase many came, also, from the various states of the Union. Thus there was found in this territory quite a mixture of nationalities. The prevailing nationality, however, was the French; and the French language was almost universally spoken. This condition existed especially in the Attakapas section, and continues almost the same to the present day. In fact the French traditions and customs still exert a weighty influence not only on the daily lives of the people, but even on their attitude toward public questions — an attitude not always sympathetically appreciated by Anglo-Americans. Only a few days ago a good old "Yankee," who had migrated here from Indiana, having become exasperated at the conduct of a customer who had taken "French leave," was heard by the writer to exclaim: "Confound these Frenchmen; I

get so disgusted with them that I don't know what to say. This is not America; this is France. I tell these people they ought to join the Union."

Many of the settlers were, naturally, strangers to American customs and laws, and hence could not understand them; many others were criminally inclined, and not only did not want to understand them, but actively violated them. Entirely too many had brought with them from abroad corrupt socialistic and anarchistic ideas. Moreover, the country was still sparsely settled, and the seats of justice were far removed from the people and their activities. Consequently the law was often violated with impunity. Still, however, a large majority of the population consisted of peaceable and law-abiding citizens, who were content and anxious to cultivate their lands and live a life of simplicity and industry. It was this honest and thrifty class which, exasperated by the ravages of the lawbreakers, and carried away by their zeal to bring the offenders to justice, furnished the leaders who proposed and carried out such unusual and extreme measures for the suppression of crime.

It was while the Attakapas Country was at this stage of development, just before the Civil War, that the peace of this section was seriously disturbed. The cause of the disturbance was found to have its source in those same uneducated and lawless settlers who had come to the region from so many different places. At first their depredations were infrequent and well concealed. Gradually, however, when they had learned that the hand of justice was slow and uncertain, they became bolder and more open. Their earliest crimes consisted of petty thievery, but their later offenses involved greater stakes; and often consisted of overt acts of brigandage in which stores were robbed, houses were burned, and whole herds of cattle were corralled and driven away. In many instances the brigands made no attempt to conceal their

acts, boldly carrying out their expeditions in broad daylight. In the accomplishment of these offenses the perpetrators oftentimes committed, also, the crime of murder. The most significant thing about these depredations was that they all seemed to be directed by some master mind or by some central organization. This organization was evidently so thorough and so far-reaching that it was practically impossible to convict the offenders. In fact, later investigations proved that the individual criminals were banded together into organizations, each having its officers and regular place of meeting. These small bands were further united under a single head which directed the operations of the subordinate bands. Regular campaigns of crime were planned by the commanding officers and carried out by the smaller and subordinate organizations.

It is true that the criminals were often apprehended and even brought before the courts for trial, but in most cases they were acquitted. It was this apparent mockery of justice and the inability of the public prosecutors to secure convictions that caused property holders and peace-loving citizens to become alarmed. In fact, they had sufficient cause to be alarmed; for the attempts of the courts to enforce the laws were rendered ridiculously unavailing by the organized machinations of the bandits. The punishment of the criminals was rendered still more difficult by the misused ability of one or two well-known criminal lawyers of the Attakapas Country. These lawyers were natives, and were so well versed in the traditions and customs of the people of the section, and enjoyed such extensive acquaintance and favor among even the lowest classes of the population, that, in nearly every instance they were able to select a jury which they knew beforehand would return a verdict favorable to the defendant, no matter how revolting the crime he had committed. These same lawyers did not hesitate, in many

instances, according to the evidence of many citizens who still remember those conditions, to devote their brilliant talents to securing the release of offenders who, by all rules of justice, should have been sent to the penitentiary or the gallows. Naturally, therefore, these lawyers came to be in great demand among the brigands. As a consequence, then, of the many acquittals which resulted from their efforts and from perjured juries, the impression became general that it was useless to try to secure in the courts of the state the conviction of any of the outlaws.

Many instances of the way in which justice was defeated can be given. On one occasion a planter came suddenly upon a "neighbor" who had just killed a cow, and was in the act of carrying away the meat. "This is my cow," said the planter, "I shall have you prosecuted for larceny."

"Pshaw!" said the neighbor, "you are too intelligent to do that."

"Too intelligent! Why, do you mean to say that this is not my cow?"

"It may have been yours once," answered the neighbor, "but it is mine now."

"What!" said the planter. "This is your cow?"

"Certainly it is; you have sold her to me and I have paid you the price in the presence of witnesses."

"Monstrous! They will swear to a lie; you know this cow belongs to me. I will prosecute you all the same."

"As you please," said the neighbor, shrugging his shoulders as he went away with the meat.

He was prosecuted, but true to his word he produced seven witnesses in court who testified that he had purchased the cow from the planter, and had paid him in their presence. It is unnecessary to say that he was acquitted.

On another occasion a planter missed his favorite



cow. He mounted his horse and rode in search of her on the prairie surrounding his farm. Having come to a store at the roadside kept by a Frenchman, he was very much astonished to see the skin of the cow hanging on the fence.

"Where did you get that skin?" he asked the merchant.

"I have just bought it."

"From whom? It is the skin of my cow that was stolen last night."

"Had you come a little sooner, you would have seen the person who sold it to me. He has just left; but I cannot give his name."

"Be careful," said the planter, "the skin is in your possession. This is strong presumption, at least, that you yourself have stolen the cow; the more so that you refuse to give the name of the one who sold you the skin."

"I can't give his name," said the merchant.

"Very well, the grand jury will investigate the matter."

The merchant was indicted for larceny by the next grand jury. Although he was repeatedly warned by his attorney to disclose the name of the thief, to avoid being convicted himself, he steadfastly refused to speak. The case was tried and the evidence against him was direct and conclusive; nevertheless, he was acquitted. Throughout the trial he had shown no concern at all for his own precarious situation; and his acquittal did not appear to surprise him in the least. When asked by his counsel to explain how it was possible for the jury to render such a verdict against so conclusive evidence of guilt, he merely smiled and said: "I can speak now, although I will give no names. The man who sold me that skin was on that jury; and there were, besides him, five others who belong to his gang. I was sure of an acquittal. Had I given his name, my store would now be in

ashes, and I would probably be dead. I thought it more prudent to take my chances."

The foregoing illustrations are sufficient to explain the conditions that prompted the citizens of a large and growing section of Louisiana to take the law into their own hands. Whether they were justified in pursuing such an unusual course is hard to decide. However, the causes which would rightly prompt citizens to throw aside all established law and take the administration of justice into their own hands, in direct disobedience to the commands of the highest state authorities, must be grave ones indeed. At that time many good and sensible citizens of the disturbed section held that the state courts and officers were sufficient to meet the urgent needs of the situation; that any extraordinary measures needed should emanate from the state itself; and that any attempts on the part of individuals or societies to punish the offenders were wholly unwarranted and illegal. Still, there was a large majority of the population in the afflicted district strongly in favor of resorting to irregular justice. Those who supported the movement based their arguments in its favor on the broad and general principle that all authority emanates from the people; and that, when all established means of enforcing the laws of the state and protecting the lives and property of the citizens fail, then it devolves upon the people to take the law into their own hands, and see that justice is administered. Many went so far as to liken the situation to that in which the French found themselves on the eve of the French Revolution.

It was in January, 1859, that the plan of organizing committees of vigilance was first suggested. It was not until March of that year, however, that the first committee was organized at Cote-Gelée in Lafayette Parish. This organization was soon followed by others with similar motives, in the territory now composing the parishes

of Calcasieu, Lafayette, St. Landry, St. Martin, and Vermillion. In all seven committees were organized. It is most interesting to note the reasons which the promoters of this movement gave in defense of the step they had taken. They are contained in the following proclamation issued by one of the executive committees, Mar. 16, 1859:

Fellow Citizens:

Having organized ourselves as vigilance committees, that is, having constituted ourselves a tribunal entirely independent of the other judicial tribunals created by law, we owe it to ourselves, as well as to you to give the reasons that have driven us into the revolutionary movement that we have inaugurated. We address ourselves to the honest people of the State, our peers in integrity, and who, like us, bow in sweet reverence to the laws enacted for the protection of society. We would blush to give any explanation either to the bandits who infest the district or to their friends or accomplices. We incline ourselves before that justice — that saintly justice that shields the innocent and strikes the guilty; we look her in the face, fellow citizens, because we have violated none of the duties that society imposes upon its members. This being promised, we veil her statue, so often insulted and spat upon by the bandits, and we say to those who, like us, have at heart the prosperity and dignity of their native state: Fellow Citizens: We have been subjected to a system of rapine and plunder without parallel in this country; our property is destroyed daily and hourly; our houses are burglarized and rifled of their contents; crime has its army in our midst with its generals, officers, and soldiers. We will tell you bluntly how it is that crime holds high carnival in our midst: the jury has failed most miserably in its mission. It has been guilty, in the face of God and society, of the abominable crime of perjury, for when jurors acquit those whose guilt is established beyond peradventure, they commit the crime of perjury, and place themselves on a level with those whom they have acquitted. Is it not to your knowledge, fellow citizens, that such verdicts are of daily occurrence in our courts of justice? If this criminal indulgence of the jury had no other effect than that of saving a few miscreants from the penitentiary, we would qualify it mere-

ly as a weakness without a name, but verdicts rendered contrary to the most convincing evidence, find an echo in the hearts of the corrupt people of the district; the acquittal of a bandit is a premium for the encouragement of vice, and opens a new field for the perpetration of crime. "He that sows the wind shall reap the whirlwind," says Scripture, and our district is an eloquent proof of this. As soon as the law became powerless for the repression of crime, what have we seen? The boldest robberies committed at night, in the day time, everywhere and at all times. We have seen the assassin and the incendiary following in the footsteps of the thief and of the robber; we have seen corruption festering in our midst, and extending its pestilential stench and rottenness to the very core of society. Do we exaggerate, fellow citizens? The bandits have a numerous and intelligent army, with chieftains shrouded in the dark, but issuing orders that are obeyed without hesitation by the soldiers. It is a mixing of whites and blacks, a confused mass of thieves and assassins, standing shoulder to shoulder in their progress of rapine, of plunder, and incendiarism, each one concurring to the ultimate success of the organization. Crops, cattle, everything in fact that constitutes the riches and ministers to the comfort of our laborious population, is exposed to the depredations of these bandits.

In this dangerous emergency, were we to await supinely for the action of the courts to check this growing evil, when everyone knows that our courts are powerless to protect us, with jurors who acquit the worst criminals, although there be superabundance of proof of their guilt? No! We have banded together, for self-protection is supreme — and, armed henceforth with the sword of justice, we have organized temporarily as a tribunal for the trial of the violators of the law. We have called ourselves Vigilance Committees, and our constitution contains but one word: Chastisement. The lash and the rope will be our arms, both terrible and dishonorable chastisements. Our organization is that of honesty against dishonesty, of society against crime, and we fear neither the censure of man nor the wrath of our enemies.

Now, fellow citizens, if you still hope to save from rapine and plunder that which you have earned by your labors; if you

wish to restore our corrupt society to a healthy standard, by branding with the infamy of exile or of the lash the men whose presence in our midst is an insult to public morality and a danger to our families, follow our example; join us, fellow citizens, in our holy crusade against vice and immorality; against rapine, murder, and incendiarism, and let us, with the lash, print on the backs of those wretches a catalogue of their crimes.

It is interesting to note that the various committees, while their organization, purposes and methods were in general alike, were under the direction of no central organization. Each one was independent and followed only the rules and regulations of its own making. Each organization as a rule elected a president, a secretary, and an assistant-secretary. In most instances there was an executive committee to decide emergency cases, and a marshal to carry out its orders. Meetings were held regularly, at which members were received into the organizations. In most cases members must swear to keep secret all the proceedings of their respective committees. In some instances the committees organized a miniature army, which assembled in the towns regularly to drill under an officer. Maj. Aurelian Saint-Julien was made commander of the military forces of all the committees. Gen. Alfred Mouton, a graduate of West Point, who was subsequently killed at the battle of Mansfield, was appointed drillmaster of the forces. These forces were organized in order to meet any organized armed resistance which it was thought the bandits might possibly offer. Altogether, the various committees could muster about four thousand armed and disciplined men. The forces at Lafayette had, as a part of their equipment, a four-pound brass cannon, nicknamed "Betsy," which they used regularly in the military maneuvers.

As has been said the punishments generally agreed upon by the committees consisted of banishment, the lash, and the rope. In a few instances the crimes and their punishments corresponded to those provided for in the



criminal code of the state; but as a rule no attention was given to established law or methods of procedure. Each committee enforced whatever rule it thought proper to use in apprehending, convicting, and punishing the offenders. The usual method of convicting one suspected of an offense was for certain members of the committee, in whose jurisdiction the crime had been committed, to call an informal meeting at which the guilt or innocence of the accused was determined. He was not allowed to be present even; and never given a chance to defend his cause. This treatment was accorded especially to those who had been acquitted by a jury that, in the estimation of the committee, had been "packed" or that had based its decision on the evidence of perjured witnesses. No consideration was shown to such persons accused.

These punishments, as administered, were extremely severe. One suspected by the committees was notified by an emissary to leave the district within a given time. If he did not obey the order he was caught and severely lashed. Then if he did not obey he was given a still worse beating; and this punishment was repeated until he was glad to obey. Some of these whippings were exceedingly severe, as many as a hundred lashes with a trace strap or bridle rein being inflicted upon a single victim. The time limit for getting away, also, was so short that oftentimes the accused did not have time to dispose of his property or provide for moving his family, before he was compelled to leave.

On one occasion a suspect, charged with a number of crimes, was waylaid by twenty-two members of one of these committees, who surrounded him almost before he was aware of their presence. After having dragged the miserable wretch into their midst, they each began to rain blows upon him with their whips.

"There," said one as he struck him a terrific blow, "that is for my cotton-mill which you burned."



"Take that," said another, "for stealing my horse."

"That," said a third, "for driving away my cattle and selling them."

"And that, and that," said all the others as they took their turn at applying their lashes.

In this manner the punishment was continued until the victim was completely overcome, and ready to pledge himself to leave the country. The death penalty was also inflicted by these committees, and more than one poor rascal was left swinging to a tree, or lying in a crumpled heap as a result of the deadly aim of a firing squad.

Such a radical move as the organization and methods of these committees could not, of course, be undertaken without attracting much notice from the press, from the state authorities, and from men of public affairs. Probably without exception all the papers in the parishes where the committees existed gave them their strongest support. The *Courier* of Opelousas, the *Democrat* of St. Martinsville, and the *Echo* of Lafayette, defended the committees and their propaganda in the strongest terms. The New Orleans papers were divided in their attitude, the *Times* and the *Democrat* supporting the state authorities against the committees. Governor Wickliffe and the state prosecutor of that judicial district, A. Olivier, denounced them in most uncompromising terms as rebels against the law and order of the state. In fact, many prominent and influential citizens of the district took the side of the state authorities. On the other hand the committees received the strong support of such men as ex-Gov. Alexander Mouton, Gen. Alfred Mouton, Maj. Aurelian Saint-Julien, and Alcée Judice, all of whom took an active part in the work of the committees. Governor Wickliffe gave official notice of his opposition to them in the following proclamation:

Whereas, official information has been conveyed to us by the District attorney of the 14th Judicial District of Louisiana,

that a certain number of persons of the parishes of Vermillion and of St. Martin, organized as Vigilance Committees, have in violation of the law committed sundry outrages on persons, and have been guilty of depredations on property of citizens of these parishes, and have resisted the officers of the law who have attempted to put a stop to their illegal proceedings; and

*Whereas*, it appears that the officers of courts of justice have been unable to bring these violators of the law before the courts, with means within their reach — Now, therefore, I have thought proper to issue this, my proclamation to invite these committees to disband and disperse; and I call on all the good citizens of the State to lend their assistance for the arrest and prosecution of these violators of the law.

Given under our signature and seal of the State at Baton Rouge, this 28th day of May A. D. 1859, and the 83rd year of the independence of the U. S. of America.

By the Governor — ROBT. C. WICKLIFFE  
ANDREW S. HERRON — Sect'y of State.

The committees heeded not this proclamation of the governor. On the other hand it infused new life into the brigands, who became bolder and more insolent than ever. Believing that the governor meant to come to their aid with the state militia, they called themselves "Anti-Vigilants," and began to make plans for an open military campaign against those identified with the vigilance committees. To this end they brought together stores of arms and ammunition on a certain farm at Bayou Queue Tortue, near Lafayette. It was suspected that their intention was to attack, pillage and burn the town of Lafayette; and such proved to be the case. The vigilance committees at once inaugurated a movement to disperse them, and, if possible, in one supreme effort to break their power completely and drive them from the state. Accordingly the committees began to assemble levies of armed men. These forces, led by Major Saint-Julien, advanced from Lafayette to make the attack. His forces, numbering 700 men, were fully armed, well drilled, and

had with them the brass cannon, called "Betsy." The "Anti-Vigilants," had, according to some estimates, 1,800 men. They seemed determined to fight, but when the brass cannon was unmasked in the final encounter which took place on Sept. 3, 1859, most of them took to their heels. In the chase that followed about 200 were finally captured. There were taken, also, by the forces of the committees, near 1,000 small arms of various kinds. Of the 200 prisoners taken, all but eighty were released on their promising never again to molest the peace of the district. These eighty were then bound and, according to the reports of eye witnesses, laid with their faces to the ground and lashed until they had promised to leave the state never to return.

The power of the bandits was thus completely crushed. Hundreds of them had been driven from the state and the others had been scared and beaten into submission. There was no further trouble on their account and conditions resumed once again their normal aspect. The work of the committees being apparently at an end, they disbanded, thus bringing to a close a movement which for a period of nearly six months had threatened to plunge the state into civil war.

## THE ATTITUDE OF THE NEWSPAPERS OF THE UNITED STATES TOWARDS TEXAN INDEPENDENCE

BY J. E. WINSTON

In 1835 there were about one thousand newspapers published in the United States, among which were some thirty-five dailies. When hostilities broke out between the Anglo-American settlers in Texas and the Mexicans, deep interest was evinced in the cause of the struggling colonists by their brethren in the United States. The leading newspapers of the period devoted a large amount of space to the events transpiring beyond the Sabine, and the part played by the press in arousing sympathy and interest in the cause of the Texans can hardly be overestimated. Says one writer:

In the days of the Revolution, Texas could not have succeeded if the journals of New Orleans and of the United States had not befriended her. The feeling of sympathy with the struggling Texans lay dormant, and it took editorials breathing patriotism in every line to awake them into doing something. This awakening the editors felt to be their task, and nobly they did their work.

And these New Orleans editors rendered a double service to the cause of Texas; for not only did they awaken in the hearts of their readers a sentiment in favor of those struggling for their liberties, but their journals served also as the chief medium by which Texas news was disseminated throughout the Union; for very few of the eastern journals were represented by correspondents in New Orleans. The appeals of the Texan authorities for aid, the inducements in the way of land

offered volunteers, the accounts of Fannin's massacre, were all spread broadcast throughout the states east of the Mississippi, and served to arouse in the citizens of these states the keenest interest in the fate of those engaged in a life and death struggle with the Mexicans.

It will be interesting to pass in review the attitude of the leading journals in the United States towards the revolutionary movement which broke out in Texas in the fall of 1835. And first of the newspapers of New Orleans. Of the five daily newspapers in this city at the time of the Texas revolution, four were friendly to Texas; one, the *Post and Union*, was hostile. These four were the *Commercial Bulletin*, the *Bee*, the *True American*, and the *Courier*.<sup>1</sup>

Just as New Orleans was the rendezvous for volunteers going to Texas, so that city served as a center from which a knowledge of the affairs relating to Texas was spread throughout the Union. It was upon the journals of this city that the newspapers of the United States largely relied for their information as to what was happening across the border. A typical comment of the New Orleans papers during this period is the following extract, taken from the *Commercial Bulletin* of Mar. 31, 1836:

. . . In the meantime, although we invoke no infraction of the treaties established and recognized between Mexico and our country, and would not render ourselves amenable to the laws by raising troops or doing what might be regarded as violating solemn compacts — still we do say that regarding the contest in which the Texans are engaged as a struggle for the most invaluable rights of God to man, a struggle against inhuman oppression and tyranny, they are entitled to our warmest sympathies, our best wishes, nay more, to our private contributions for their deserving need.

Two Mississippi journals of prominence during this

<sup>1</sup> See, for these facts, "New Orleans Newspaper Files," by Alexander Dienst, published in Texas Historical Association, *Quarterly*, IV, 140.

period were the Natchez *Daily Courier*, and the Woodville *Republican*.

The *Courier* hotly repudiated the suggestion of John Quincy Adams that there was danger of a war with Mexico for the purpose of reëstablishing slavery. "Thus, for the first time in Congress, had it been hinted even by a whisper that slavery was the object of Texan liberty." The Woodville *Republican* was an enthusiastic supporter of the Texan cause. After congratulating the Texans on their triumph over their foes, it proceeds as follows:

God grant that the progress of tyranny and misrule commenced by our rulers here, and meekly and tamely acquiesced in, by the people, may not drive the small remnant of the spirit of '76 yet lingering among us, to this new land of promise. Heaven forbid that this event should occur; but the aspect is now unpropitious . . . Economy and Reform can alone save us.<sup>2</sup>

This journal pronounced itself in favor of the annexation of Texas which, it averred, would come in as a slave-holding state.<sup>3</sup> Very different was the impression produced upon different minds by the attitude of Jackson touching the annexation of Texas to the United States. According to Professor McElroy, the man to whose heart the reannexation of Texas was dearer than to anyone else was Andrew Jackson. "We must regain Texas, peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must" is a statement reiterated in his letters. Far different is the view taken of the situation by the Woodville *Republican*. "The President 'prates' too much about neutrality. We would not be surprised if he were to oppose the annexation of Texas to the United States."

Contrary to the opinion, formerly so prevalent, that the South was a unit in desiring the annexation of Texas to the United States, we find striking instances of southern opposition to Texas becoming a part of the American

<sup>2</sup> Issue of Feb. 27, 1836.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec. 10, 1836.



Union. Among these were two Mississippians, Joseph Riddle, a lawyer, who had fought as a volunteer in the Texas revolution, and Alexander Jones, a physician, author, and inventor of some note.<sup>4</sup> Another Mississippian argued that the acknowledgement of Texan independence would prove a dark day for the South — "our territory," he adds, "being already of sufficient extent and our frontier enlarged enough." The only thing that could render the independence of Texas desirable or worth while was the hope that it would become the slave market of the whole South.<sup>5</sup> In the opinion of these two a brighter destiny awaited Texas as an independent commonwealth than as a member of the Union; at any rate, Texas with her slave property should stand aloof until the question of slavery or anti-slavery was forever put to rest in the United States. Similarly, in his inaugural address of Dec. 10, 1838, Lamar gave utterance to this sentiment: "I have never been able myself to perceive the policy of the desired connection, or discover in it any advantage, either civil, political, or commercial, which could possibly result to Texas." On the other hand, he predicted a long train of consequences of the most appalling character and magnitude in case Texas should cast in its fortune with the republic of the North. The *Woodville Republican* commented in this manner upon the attitude of Lamar:

The identity of the interests and institutions of Texas will free them from the sectional strifes with which this country (the South) is harassed — there taxes will be uniform. The slaveholding states are burdened with taxes levied upon them and expended in other sections by the representatives of those benefited by such disbursements.<sup>6</sup>

Texas, on the contrary, would set an example of a

<sup>4</sup> See Elizabeth Howard West, "Southern Opposition to the Annexation of Texas," in *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, July, 1914.

<sup>5</sup> See *Philadelphia National Gazette*, June 25, 1836.

<sup>6</sup> Issue of Dec. 29, 1838.

pure system of free trade.<sup>7</sup> One recalls, in this connection, the harsh terms in which Governor McDuffie of South Carolina spoke of the Texans and their struggle for independence: "You are doubtless aware," said he, "that the people of Texas, by an almost unanimous vote, have expressed their desire to be admitted into our confederacy, and application will probably be made to Congress for that purpose. In my opinion, Congress ought not even to entertain such a proposition in the present state of the controversy."<sup>8</sup> Such expressions as these show clearly that as yet the significance of the slavery question in regard to Texas was not fully appreciated.

On the whole, the assistance rendered the Texans by Mississippians was not as great as might have been expected from their proximity to the scene of the conflict.

In striking contrast with the apathy of the people of this state was the enthusiasm manifested in the Texan cause by the citizens of Kentucky. Nowhere was greater interest felt in the plight of the struggling Texans than among the people of the Blue Grass region. Hundreds of volunteers and thousands of dollars went from Kentucky in furtherance of the cause of Texan independence. No journal espoused the cause of the Texans more heartily than did the *Kentucky Gazette*, published at Lexington. Its columns were freely placed at the disposal of those who had at heart the fortunes of the dwellers beyond the Sabine. Effective support was likewise rendered by the Lexington *Intelligencer*, a journal which, like the *Gazette*, never wavered in upholding the rights and liberties of the Anglo-American settlers. The files of the *Courier-Journal*, published at Louisville, Kentucky, are not available, though there can be no doubt that this paper exerted a wide influence in arousing interest in the affairs of Texas. Other Kentucky journals

<sup>7</sup> See letter of Wharton to Austin, Dec. 11, 1836, in American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1907, I, 152.

<sup>8</sup> *Niles' Register*, LI, 229, 230.

that espoused the cause of Texas were the *Lexington Observer* and *Kentucky Reporter*, published at Lexington, and the *Commonwealth* and the *Argus*, both published at Frankfort.

To the cause of Texan independence, Kentucky gave of her sons and means unstintedly. Gen. Felix Houston, writing from Natchez in the spring of 1836, has this to say: "I wish to get some men from Kentucky. There is no difficulty in getting as many as I want there, but more difficulty in rejecting those I do not want."<sup>9</sup> No little credit is due the editors of Kentucky newspapers that such a sentiment in favor of the Texans should have existed in the state. With one exception, no trace has been found of any opposition being offered by Kentuckians to the annexation of Texas. In the *Lexington Intelligencer* of July 12, 1836, appeared an interesting article in which the writer urges the people of Texas to avoid any connection with the southern states; to forbid the immigration of slaves or slaveholders, and depicts in glowing terms all the benefits that would flow from a population of free men. This is precisely the kind of argument, as we have seen, that was used by those Mississippians, referred to above, who opposed the annexation of Texas. This was commented on by Wharton, one of the Texan commissioners to the United States in 1836.<sup>10</sup>

According to one of the leading Kentucky journals, six newspapers in the state were opposed to the annexation of Texas, but the names of these are not given.<sup>11</sup> The attitude of the press of the state as a whole is no doubt more faithfully reflected in a quotation found in the *Kentucky Gazette* of July 7, 1836, which is copied from the *New Orleans Bee*. "But for Presidents Monroe and Adams, Texas would long ago have been what she should be, a state of the American Union."

<sup>9</sup> *Richmond Enquirer*, May 3, 1836.

<sup>10</sup> Wharton to Austin, *Amer. Hist. Assn., Report*, 1907, I, 152.

<sup>11</sup> *Kentucky Gazette*, Nov. 16, 1837.

Much harm was done the Texan cause by unfavorable reports of that region brought back by disappointed emigrants and published far and wide in the newspapers of the United States. A striking illustration of this is seen in the detailed statement of their grievances published in the Kentucky newspapers by Captain Postlethwaite and Colonel Wilson, who led a command of volunteers to Texas in the summer of 1836. Their report constituted a slander upon Texas and its people, and took the form of an attack upon Gen. T. Jefferson Chambers, who vigorously repelled the charges made by Wilson and Postlethwaite. These articles were published by the *Courier and Journal of Natchez* in the form of a pamphlet entitled *Documents concerning Texas and the Controversy between General T. J. Chambers and Messrs. Wilson and Postlethwaite*. The publicity given this affair by the newspapers undoubtedly had a deterrent effect upon prospective emigrants. Equally effective in deterring emigrants were the unfavorable comments upon the Texas situation by the Charleston (S. C.) *Patriot*, which remarked that "the gallant corps of Volunteer Greys from New Orleans has generally returned disgusted with the service, saying they would no longer fight to enrich a few land speculators."<sup>12</sup> Similarly the Randolph (Tenn.) *Recorder* wrote: "Volunteers are returning and reporting very discouragingly of the inhabitants of Texas. The inhabitants are poor, and care not a fig under what government they live. The principal object of the majority of the inhabitants is plunder and pillage."<sup>13</sup> The spreading of such reports as these could not but dampen the enthusiasm of volunteers. This accounts in part, no doubt, for the apathy of Virginians towards the struggle between the Texans and their oppressors. It should be said, however, that what Virginians lacked in

<sup>12</sup> See *Richmond Enquirer*, Mar. 26, 1836.

<sup>13</sup> *Virginia Herald*, Mar. 23, 1836; *New York Courier and Enquirer*, Oct. 31, 1835.

the way of numbers, they made up for by the high quality of the service rendered the young republic.

In its issue of July 17, 1835, the *Richmond Enquirer* printed an excerpt from the *New York Courier* which stated tersely the situation in Texas at that time.

Each succeeding day is rendering Texas of more importance to the United States from the fact that it is rapidly being settled by our own people, and the very probable supposition that in a few years it will constitute a portion of our Union. In settling the boundary line between Texas and the United States, the Rio Grande should be, and in all probability will be, fixed upon as the dividing line, and thus, the thousands of American citizens who are now settling what is yet a foreign country, will once more find themselves enjoying the blessings and protection of our liberal laws.

The attitude of two of the leading Virginia papers may be succinctly stated. The *Richmond Enquirer*, while suggesting impracticable schemes for the incorporation of Texas with the United States, was opposed to the purchase of Texas by the government.<sup>14</sup> On the other hand, the *Richmond Whig* was convinced that Texas must be purchased by the United States government and carved into two or more slaveholding states.<sup>15</sup> To this paper a war for absolute independence was quite premature and impolitic.<sup>16</sup> There was little doubt in the mind of the editor of the *Whig* that our government would gladly catch at the slightest pretext for a quarrel with Mexico, if for no other reason than to divert the people from a scrutiny of domestic affairs.<sup>17</sup> Wharton, one of the Texan commissioners to the United States, writing to Austin in December, 1836, alluded to the imprudent attitude of the *Whig* touching the annexation of Texas by using language calculated to irritate the North.<sup>18</sup> One of

<sup>14</sup> Issues of Oct. 27 and 30, and Dec. 19, 1835.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, April 15, 1836.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, April 29, 1836.

<sup>17</sup> Issue of May 20, 1836.

<sup>18</sup> Wharton to Austin, Dec. 11, 1836, *Amer. Hist. Assn., Report*, 1907, I, 152.



the few articles friendly to Mexico which has been observed during this time is to be found in the columns of the *Whig* of July 22, 1836. The editor seeks to justify Mexico in defending the integrity of her territory, and contends that the existing treaty with Mexico was binding upon citizens of the United States. Touching a proper boundary line, the *Enquirer* was an ardent expansionist. Quoting the *New Orleans Bee* of Mar. 19, 1836, it says: "Let the independence of Texas be recognized by the United States. Let its bounds be extended to the Rio Grande and to California and the Pacific Ocean, and we shall have easy access to Asia." This recalls a remark attributed to the President. Wharton, writing to Rusk, says: "General Jackson says that Texas must claim the Californias on the Pacific in order to paralyze the opposition of the North and East to annexation."<sup>19</sup> The Texas question is tersely dealt with in the following statement of the *Richmond Enquirer*: "It is impossible for Texas to remain long under the dominion of Mexico." "The character of the 'Texonians,' " it continued, "is essentially different from that of the Mexicans, they know too much of the principles of republicanism, are too much attached to the free institutions they have been taught from childhood."<sup>20</sup>

Enthusiasm in the cause of Texas was by no means confined to the region south of the Potomac. The *United States Gazette*, one of the leading Philadelphia papers, was consistently friendly to Texas. Its columns were freely made use of by writers who contributed numerous articles on the Texas question. The question of slavery and the bearing of the possible independence of Texas upon the further extension of slavery received a considerable amount of treatment. This journal encouraged the citizens of Philadelphia and of Pennsylvania to aid

<sup>19</sup> Wharton to Rusk, Feb. 16, 1837, *ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> Issue of Aug. 7, 1836, quoting *New Orleans True American* of July 17.



the Texan cause and right nobly did they respond; the citizens of the great eastern state rendered valuable moral and material assistance to the struggling Texans.

Far different was the attitude of the Philadelphia *National Gazette* to the events happening in Texas in the spring of 1836. The hostile attitude of this journal led to the editor being denounced as a "bloody papist" and to his conduct being severely criticized by the friends of Texas. This paper was convinced that the chief cause for commencing the struggle against Mexico was for the purpose of carrying on the slave trade; no justification for rebellion existed on the part of the Texans; their cause was destitute of all claim upon the friends of genuine liberty and right.<sup>21</sup> To the editor of the *National Gazette* Burnet's proclamation prohibiting slavery was proof positive that the Texans were fighting "Freedom's battle" for the purpose of riveting slavery's chain.<sup>22</sup> A war waged for absolute independence was impolitic and quite premature; the contest, moreover, was a hopeless one for the "Texians," their only salvation being in the interference of our government. Austin, Archer, Wharton, Burnet, and the rest of the Texan leaders were an unscrupulous lot; those who did not find it safe to live at home had found an asylum in Texas; the standard of independence had been raised for the benefit of land speculators. Even the news of Fannin's massacre led the editor to express pity for the "unsophisticated philanthropy and tender-hearted compassion" of those who mourned the fate of the victims of Mexican atrocity.<sup>23</sup> It is almost needless to say that this journal found the conduct of General Gaines upon the border decidedly reprehensible, and predicted disaster and bloody consequences as the result of his action.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>21</sup> See issues of April 20 and May 12, 17, and 30, 1836.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, May 19, 1836.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, April 28, 1836.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, Aug. 2, 1836.

The Philadelphia *National Gazette* was more pronounced in its hostility to the cause of Texas than any other journal that has been read by the writer. In its columns are to be found the old stock-in-trade arguments against recognizing the independence of Texas. In the opinion of the *Evening Star* of Philadelphia, "Texas sooner or later from its position must become the property of the United States."<sup>25</sup>

A casual examination of the newspapers of New York City reveals the fact that the citizens of that metropolis were deeply interested in the outcome of the Texas Revolution. Nowhere was there a livelier discussion of the neutrality of the United States and the subject of annexation than among the New York papers. The limits of this paper forbid a complete presentation of the views of the New York editors on these subjects. The leading papers in the city were the *Evening Post* and the *Courier and Enquirer*. First, let us glance at the attitude of the *Post*. In its columns is to be found a spirited defense of the character of the Texas settlers.<sup>26</sup> Generally speaking, the *Post* defended General Gaines and the administration for the action taken by the government in defense of the western frontier.<sup>27</sup> This journal, like many another, exaggerated the danger from the Indians. As to the question of neutrality, it held that it was the "plain duty of the Government not to deviate from the settled policy of the nation by meddling with the domestic quarrels of our neighbors. That duty has been, and will continue to be scrupulously performed." The editor was assured that violators of our neutrality would receive no encouragement from "our veteran, and honest chief magistrate."<sup>28</sup> The *Post* was vigorous and outspoken in its opposition to the premature recognition

<sup>25</sup> Quoted by the Frankfort (Ky.) *Commonwealth*, Nov. 14, 1835.

<sup>26</sup> New York *Post*, Nov. 6, 1835.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, May 4, 11, and 12, July 29, and Aug. 2, 1836.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, May 2, 1836.

of Texas, for it mistakenly supposed that war was not over. It was assured that a set of speculators were at work; the Texans were even rebuked for having lived under the arbitrary government of Mexico. When satisfactory information was obtained of the ability of the new government to sustain itself, then it would be time for the President to act; for recognition by Congress would be a gross usurpation of the functions of the Executive.<sup>29</sup> Even more premature was the question of admitting Texas into the Union; this would be a shameless departure from our hitherto proclaimed policy of non-interference; the owners of Texas lands were naturally eager for the admission of Texas into the Republic; finally, it asserted, let Texas apply to England.<sup>30</sup> It is interesting to note that the question of slavery is not alluded to in this discussion.

By means of a special correspondent at New Orleans, the New York *Courier and Enquirer* was able to set forth the situation in Texas in an unusually complete manner. The attitude of this influential journal towards the revolutionary movement was not entirely consistent; in fact, the hypothesis has been suggested that a seeming change of front in the summer of 1836 was due to Mexican gold. In the fall of 1835 it denounced the action of a committee of New Orleans citizens receiving donations to aid "a set of frontiersmen styling themselves Texians or Texonians." "Let Texas be conquered from Mexico — what then? the history of Texas will be that of Mexico; and so on till Panama and the Pacific shall be the boundaries of our restless craving and unsatiable avarice."<sup>31</sup> A few months later the *Courier and Enquirer* suggested that a proper boundary line between the United States and Mexico would be the great desert that reached within six miles of the Rio Grande.<sup>32</sup> But partisan considera-

<sup>29</sup> New York *Post*, June 17 and 18, July 1 and 5, 1836.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, June 17 and Dec. 13, 1836.

<sup>31</sup> *Courier and Enquirer*, Oct. 28 and 31, and Nov. 13, 1835.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, Mar. 10, 1836.

tions did not prevent the editor from taking an impartial view of events happening on the southwestern frontier: thus President Jackson's course is described as "cautious and judicious"; the advance of the United States troops to Nacogdoches was only a precautionary measure.<sup>33</sup> By December, 1836, the *Courier and Enquirer* was advocating the acknowledgment of Texan independence by this government. The friends of Texas were warned to shun the overtures of England. Mexico was entitled to no claim either of forbearance or delicacy on the part of our government or our citizens.<sup>34</sup> Its comments upon the President's message of December 21, 1836, were highly judicious: the editor argued that the first movement looking to recognition should come from Congress; the prospect of immediate incorporation with the United States might cause England to interfere.<sup>35</sup> The questions connected with the admission of Texas into the Union are fully and interestingly discussed in an editorial of Dec. 29, 1836. "Setting aside the Abolitionists there would be no opposition to the admission of Texas into the Union." With this may be compared Wharton's statement in this same month: "Our foes the leading prints of the North and East everywhere oppose . . . [annexation] on the old grounds of an opposition to the extension of slavery and of a fear of southern preponderance in the councils of the nation."<sup>36</sup> Equally interesting is his further comment:

The Southern papers, those in favor of annexation, are acting most independently . . . Language such as the following is uttered by the most respectable journals such as the *Richmond Whig*, *Charleston Mercury*, etc. "The North must choose between the Union with Texas added — or no Union.

<sup>33</sup> *Courier and Enquirer*, Oct. 24, 1836.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec. 13, 1836.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec. 27, 1836.

<sup>36</sup> Wharton to Austin, Dec. 11, 1836, *Amer. Hist. Assn., Report*, 1907, I, 152.

Texas will be added and then farewell forever abolitionism and northern influence."

If Wharton's observation be correct, then it would seem the issue between the free and slave states in regard to Texas was becoming fairly well drawn by the end of 1836.

A staunch defender of the administration's policy toward Texas was the Albany *Argus*. This journal was highly indignant at some of the "Whig presses" which attempted to palliate the enormities of the Mexican tyrant, Santa Anna.<sup>37</sup> In an editorial two and one-half columns in length it defended the victors of San Jacinto against the imputations of cruelty charged against them by the New York *American*.<sup>38</sup> The *American* was annoyed at the prospects of the Texans sustaining themselves against their foreign oppressors.<sup>39</sup> In the eyes of the *Argus*, the alarmists of the opposition journals were merely giving an illustration of their ill-concealed Mexican partialities in their promptness in condemning General Gaines.<sup>40</sup> On the whole the metropolitan journals approved General Gaines's course. It is surprising to find the *Argus* arguing in December that circumstances did not yet warrant the recognition of Texan independence by our government.<sup>41</sup>

In the opinion of the Boston *Evening Transcript* the "Texanians" must trust chiefly for assistance in time of need to the border states.<sup>42</sup> The report of the New Orleans Greys leaving for Texas called forth this comment from the *Transcript*: "What a capital chance for large cities to get rid of their loafers. What man in his senses would volunteer in a Texas Expedition, who could earn

<sup>37</sup> *Argus*, June 1, 1836.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, June 14, 1836.

<sup>39</sup> Issue of July 4, 1836.

<sup>40</sup> *Argus*, Aug. 12, 1836.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec. 28, 1836.

<sup>42</sup> *Evening Transcript*, Oct. 30, 1835.



an honest living at home?" This statement was characterized by one Maj. B. Hammatt Norton as "the most blackguard article ever written, and was so thought by *everybody* on 'change."<sup>43</sup> There was no doubt in the mind of the editor of the Boston *Atlas* that the true course of the rebellion in Texas was to be found in the desire of Austin to introduce slavery.<sup>44</sup>

In conclusion, we may note briefly the attitude of the prominent journals published at Washington. Of these, the *Globe*, as might be expected, was an ardent defender of the administration's policy towards Mexico; it defended General Gaines's call for militia, and accused prominent Whig journals of seeking to destroy the character and influence of General Houston.<sup>45</sup> The attitude of the *National Intelligencer* may be gathered from its contending that "the citizens of the United States who had entered the Mexican territory in hostile array, with arms in their hands, have done so at their own peril, and have only themselves to blame for their consequences."<sup>46</sup> The *Intelligencer* deprecated the attitude of General Gaines in advancing to "old Fort Nacogdoches."<sup>47</sup> This journal was accused by Democratic papers of charging General Jackson with provoking a war for the benefit of Mexico, and for the relief of the surplus revenue.<sup>48</sup> In August the editor wrote: "The Rubicon is passed, a war entered upon without the shadow of justification, or so much as provocation from the Mexican people."<sup>49</sup>

From these extracts it is clear that the attitude of the *Intelligencer* was determined primarily by hostility to the administration rather than by an attempt to analyze fairly the Texas situation.

<sup>43</sup> *Evening Transcript*, Nov. 12, 1835.

<sup>44</sup> Quoted in *Philadelphia National Gazette*, April 29, 1836.

<sup>45</sup> See *Albany Argus*, June 22 and Aug. 3, 1836.

<sup>46</sup> Quoted in *Philadelphia National Gazette*, April 28, 1836.

<sup>47</sup> Issues of Mar. 10 and Sept. 9, 1836.

<sup>48</sup> *Albany Argus*, May 20, 1836.

<sup>49</sup> *National Intelligencer*, Aug. 13, 1836.



Such in brief was the attitude of some of the leading American newspapers towards the Texas question. While partisan considerations must be taken into account in explaining the attitude of some of the opposition journals, on the whole, it would seem that a decidedly friendly tone characterizes the utterances of the great majority of editors. It was well for the Texans and the cause of Texas independence that such should have been the case; for among the influences that had their share in bringing the struggle against Mexico to a successful issue, due weight must be given the American newspapers of the period.

## THE NEW INVASION OF THE GOTHs AND VANDALS

BY ISAAC JOSLIN COX

Shortly after the transfer of Louisiana to the United States, the American general met the governor of West Florida in the city where we are now gathered. In the course of a labored interview he advised the Spanish official that his nation could best meet the situation thus unexpectedly thrust upon her by exchanging the Floridas for the new American acquisition. The Mississippi must become the boundary between the United States and the Spanish colonies. Otherwise the western frontiersmen "like the ancient Goths and Vandals would precipitate themselves upon the weak defenses of Mexico, overturn everything in their path, and propagate in their course the pestilent doctrines that had desolated the most valuable part of Europe and deprived whole kingdoms of their foundations."<sup>1</sup>

A few years later, when the Spaniards were engaged in their thrilling struggle with Napoleon, the same governor of West Florida called his fellow-citizens, the Romans of the modern world. The recent repulse of the British at Buenos Ayres, the collapse of Miranda's expedition against Caracas, and the valiant uprising against the usurper in the Peninsula gave point to his utterance.<sup>2</sup> His metaphor was echoed, albeit uncon-

<sup>1</sup> Wilkinson's "Reflections," wrongly attributed to Governor Vizente Folch, occur in J. A. Robertson, *Louisiana under the Rule of Spain, France, and the United States, 1785-1807*, II, 325-347. Cf. *American Historical Review*, XIX, 798, note 11.

<sup>2</sup> Folch to Someruelos, Reservado No. 130, Legajo 1566, "Cuban Papers." Archivo General de Indias, Seville. Cf. *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, I, 217, note 10.

sciously, when the Spanish chargé represented himself as a modern Brutus urged on by the spirit of the Spanish people to protest against the recent exactions of the American government.<sup>3</sup>

These chance utterances may serve to introduce our main theme, the earlier stages of rivalry between Spanish-American and Anglo-American.<sup>4</sup> They likewise indicate something of the pride with which the transplanted Iberian met his despised antagonist. Undoubtedly he exhibits presumption as well as pride in thus comparing himself to the masters of the ancient world. But we must remember that the people of the Iberian Peninsula, once thoroughly subdued, were more Roman than their conquerors; and that memorials of their proud position in the ancient empire survived the dark ages of Gothic and Moorish domination. Then too, in their turn the united Spanish people had subdued in the new world an area far surpassing the empire ruled from the Tiber or the Bosphorus. Over that vast colonial empire at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and especially over the Mexican Viceroyalty, there was impending such an invasion as their forbears had experienced fifteen hundred years before. If in their measures for resisting it they displayed more pride than power, their pride was measurably justified.

It was equally natural for them to apply to their rivals epithets that recalled the early barbarian invaders. Moreover the advice of the American general, already quoted, confirmed them in this practice and led them farther afield. His "Goths and Vandals" — a name which he possibly applied in spite to those frontiersmen whom he had been able to deceive but never to corrupt —

<sup>3</sup> Foronda to R. Smith, Sept. 26, 1809, Spanish Notes II, Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Department of State.

<sup>4</sup> It may be well to note that neither of the chief racial stocks on the American continent named itself but in time each accepted the hyphenated designation coined by the other.

became to them, "Seythians" and "Huns," as well as "white Indians." Even the mercenary intrigues of the General himself suggested the days when Germanic chieftains shamelessly sold the imperial insignia or betrayed their immediate followers. We know little of the Goths and Vandals, except what their conquered enemies have told us; but subsequent speculation about them has not proved wholly profitless. In like manner it may be worth while to note how the Anglo-American advance to the Gulf and the Mississippi, and into the Far Southwest affected contemporary Spanish observers. Such a process will not prove flattering to ourselves, but it may give us a much-needed corrective view of "manifest destiny," and serve to explain the sentiment which certain Spanish-American peoples cherish toward their great northern neighbor.

In our somewhat-forced comparison it is possible to show a certain similarity between the physical features of the old Roman world and those of its modern exemplar. Turning the map of North America so as to afford a horizontal view, we may note that the position and direction of the St. Lawrence suggest the Rhine, with a New France corresponding to ancient Gaul. To the southward flows the Mississippi — a second Danube — with the Ohio as an enlarged Theiss. East of the larger stream and south of the Ohio, between the Appalachians and the Gulf, lies the American Dacia. Ruled uncertainly from the Crescent City, weakly assuming the rôle of the capital on the Golden Horn, this wilderness region served as a rampart for the trans-Mississippi provinces until the advancing Anglo-American tide broke through the ineffectual barrier of aborigines and occupied the weakly defended littoral beyond.

In the distant city on the Mexican tableland, the center of vice-regal power in North America, one does not perceive a close counterpart to the City of the Seven

Hills. The Cyclades and Sporades are not repeated in the Antilles nor do Florida, Yucatan, and Lower California more than faintly suggest the three great peninsulas of southern Europe. But in the Mediterranean region of the New World the pioneer adventurers of north European stock encountered the semi-tropic seas, the contrast of upland and lowland, the sweep of mighty rivers, the challenge of lofty mountains — in effect, an alluring physical setting similar to that which drew the Teutonic invaders from the forests of central Europe and enhanced the spoils of a dismembered empire.

Nor are the actors on the modern stage unworthy to compare with those of imperial renown. La Salle like Cæsar would subdue a wilderness empire; Iberville like Aurelius warned of perils beyond the frontiers. Carondelet and Folch, loyal commanders worthy of a more glorious régime, prepared to defend the border provinces against imminent invasion, while Peñalvert and Alamán strove to counteract a shortsighted policy that introduced an alien race within their imperiled land. But whether Frenchman and Spaniard combined forces against the Anglo-American or strove with each other for uncertain and unhonored leadership against him, their efforts to check his advance were wholly in vain. Like his Germanic ancestors, the Anglo-American displayed an inappeasable land hunger.

The eighteenth century was just opening when Iberville uttered his warning against the thin but rapidly growing line of English settlements scattered along the Atlantic. His proposal to meet it by a joint effort of the Bourbon monarchs seemed merely to awaken the resentful pride of the fifth Philip's suspicious counsellors.<sup>5</sup> A century later Talleyrand and Napoleon, in a position to dictate the policy of the Latin world, planned a "wall of

<sup>5</sup> Pierre Margry, *Découvertes et établissements des Français* . . . IV, 482 ff., 539-575.

brass" to check Anglo-American settlement, now advanced beyond the Alleghenies.<sup>6</sup> The foreign policy of the new Mexican government under Iturbide and the later reports of Alamán and Almonte touch upon the same danger now gathering with insistent force in Texas and threatening New Mexico and California.<sup>7</sup> But warning would not atone for weakness nor prophecy supply the lack of power. The Spanish-American, with or without the adventitious aid of the French, must yield the primacy of the American continent to the Anglo-American.

After the preliminary struggle involving the St. Lawrence Valley — the American Rhineland — and the upper Ohio, the next significant encounter for territorial supremacy occurred along the lower Mississippi, where we have already located the American Dacia. In 1773 a few scattered settlements around Fort Pitt and in the Watauga District represented the first Anglo-American contingent beyond the mountains. Thirty years later nearly half a million inhabitants, three commonwealths in the American Union, and four expanding territorial areas attest its growing importance, and disturb the Spaniards on the Gulf.<sup>8</sup> In these three decades the Anglo-Americans performed a folk-wandering that occupied their forbears in Europe nearly three centuries.

The Spaniard was already aroused to the defense of the Mississippi as his Roman prototype had been to that

<sup>6</sup> Henry Adams, *History of the United States of America*, I, 357.

<sup>7</sup> *Dictamen . . . por la Comision de Relaciones Exteriores*, Dec. 21, 1821; Mss. in Mexican Despatches, Bureau of Indexes and Archives; Alamán's memorial is in Mexican Despatches, III; see also George P. Garrison, *Westward Extension*, 27; Hermann E. Von Holst, *Constitutional and Political History of the United States*, III, 110; H. H. Bancroft, *History of the North Mexican States and Texas*, II, 113, and *History of California*, IV, chap. 16.

<sup>8</sup> Robertson, *op. cit.*, II, 326. Wilkinson, with his usual desire to make an impression on the Spaniards, exaggerates the number of American settlers. Cf. Theodore Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*, IV, 214, 340.



of the Danube. For this purpose at the close of the Revolution he intrigued with the French to prevent the Anglo-American from claiming its eastern border or even floating upon its surface. It was not so much the uncertain strength of the confederated American states that he feared, as the uncontrollable western frontiersman "with the treaty of 1783 in one hand and a carbine in the other."<sup>9</sup> The national government was still in the experimental stage and its influence little felt beyond the mountains. But the frontiersman with whom the Spaniard had most to do was both unfettered and erratic in his movements. The American authorities might be satisfied with the navigation of the Mississippi and its fur trade, together with like privileges on the Mobile and the Missouri; the western people eagerly anticipated possession of the rich Mexican mines. It is no wonder, then, that their presence was a continual nightmare to the irascible Carondelet, and that he thus warned his superiors:

To count on the oath, the good faith, the gratitude of these people, is a delusion. They have no other god than their own interest and recognize no other principle than independence. Their propensities, their language, their beliefs, and customs separate them from us. They will be our enemies from the instant they can do so with impunity and to their profit.<sup>10</sup>

Carondelet compared the Anglo-American migration to a flood of waters bursting from the containing dike. Forty thousand crossed the mountains in 1793 and this number was bound to increase. The characteristics of their vanguard terrified him even more than their numbers: "The wild desire of these men which increases in the presence of danger; their hardihood befitting those dwelling in forests and ever contending with wild beasts and with the Indians; and their aptitude as warriors, skilled in the use of the carbine, which never leaves their

<sup>9</sup> *Revista de los Archivos*, Sept.-Dec., 1914, 197.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, July-Aug., 1914, 85.

hands.”<sup>11</sup> Aside from the weapon the description is worthy the *Germania* of Tacitus. A band of this sort, captained by the redoubtable Clark, “without storehouse or other object to aid them, bringing with them only rapine and pillage; without subordination, law, or obedience; without other object than their own free whim,”<sup>12</sup> was enough to arouse the Governor’s liveliest apprehension.

The more regular elements of this population caused him equal alarm.

Their method of spreading themselves and their policy are as much to be feared by Spain as are their arms. Every new settlement, when it reaches thirty thousand souls, forms a state, which is united to the United States, so far as regards mutual protection, but which governs itself and imposes its own laws. The wandering spirit and the ease, with which those people procure their sustenance and shelter, quickly form new settlements. A carbine and a little maize in a sack are enough for an American to wander about in the forests alone for a month. With his carbine, he kills the wild cattle and deer for food and defends himself from the savages. The maize dampened serves him in lieu of bread. With some tree trunks crossed one above another, in the shape of a square, he raises a house, and even a fort that is impregnable to the savages by crossing a story above the ground floor. The cold does not affright him. When a family tires of one location, it moves to another, and there it settles with the same ease. Thus in about eight years the settlement of Cumberland has been formed, which is now about to be created into a state.<sup>13</sup>

But mere epithets did not serve to check an unwelcome immigration of this sort. In the first flush of danger the desperate Spaniard resorted to Indian alliance and watched the barbarities of the ensuing frontier conflict as we may imagine the Roman viewed the unexpected intervention of the Huns. But he speedily found that the

<sup>11</sup> *Revista de los Archivos*, Sept.-Dec., 1914, 205.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 200.

<sup>13</sup> Robertson, *op. cit.*, I, 356.

Anglo-Americans could cajole, bribe, and threaten these savages as readily as he, and what was more to the purpose, overawe them, which the Spaniards never did. Accordingly, after the campaign of Wayne against the northern Indians he largely ceased to rely on their uncertain aid,<sup>14</sup> although, as usual, he never wholly gave over hope of enlisting it, nor omitted secret efforts to gain it.

Another possible but equally unreliable method pursued by the Spaniard was to admit a selected number of the Anglo-American immigrants on the assumption that by proper admixture with his own people they and their descendants would in turn form a redoubtable barrier against their former fellow-countrymen. The process suggests an attempt to erect a barrier of ice against the spring floods, but it had the merit of following the Roman practice of filling armies and manning estates with barbarian captives and mercenaries long before allowing a more extensive migration. The resulting intrigues with the Yazoo speculators or with possible immigrants from Kentucky and Tennessee<sup>15</sup> were cut off by the proclamations of Washington rather than by orders from the Council of the Indies. Anent their practice of enticing settlers Jefferson wrote to Washington, "I wish a hundred thousand of our inhabitants would accept the invitation. It may be the means of delivering to us peaceably what may otherwise cost a war." "In the meantime," added the crafty Secretary, "we may complain of this seduction of our inhabitants just enough to make them believe we think it a very wise policy for them and confirm them in it."<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup> *Revista*, July-Aug., 1914, 83-94, *passim*.

<sup>15</sup> Miró to Sebastian, Sept. 16, 1789, copy in B. Randolph to Washington, May 31, 1790, *Miscellaneous Letters*, II, Bureau of Indexes and Archives; *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, III, 652, 653.

<sup>16</sup> Jefferson to Washington, April 2, 1791, *Miscellaneous Letters*, V, Bureau of Indexes and Archives.

Carondelet, and Gayoso who succeeded him, also found that the prospective settlers of this class were ready with promises to migrate, but exceedingly slow to come. They both gained the impression that the Anglo-Americans were playing with them, possibly from a desire to test the capacity of their coffers.<sup>17</sup> Yet for nearly a score of years they attempted to meet the stream of immigrants by a reverse stream of gold — or rather of Mexican silver. The talisman that drew their reluctant but substantial contribution was western separatism. Rome was once credited with the maxim, "divide and conquer." Why should not their imitators in the New World employ the same tactics? When once the possibility of separating the western communities from the eastern states was impressed upon Miró and the other Louisiana executives, they were reluctant to abandon it, although they never secured any adequate return for their liberal expenditures. Whether those who profited by their ill-judged largesses really cherished disunionist schemes or not, is immaterial. The Spaniards believed that they did and with typical Bourbon insistence for more than three decades frequently recurred to the idea.

In addition to Indian alliances, subsidized immigration, and western secession, the Spaniard was forced to supplement his inadequate resources by diplomacy. This was a factor that concerned the American authorities at Philadelphia rather than the backwoodsmen of the trans-Allegheny region, but even these two widely separated but representative groups of the new republic were likely to influence each other to the disadvantage of their common opponent. Washington might issue his proclamation against Yazoo claimants, French revolutionists, and would-be filibusters, but his secretary of state, Jefferson, sympathized with them and at times secretly abetted

<sup>17</sup> Gayoso to the Prince of the Peace, June 5, 1798, *sumamente reservado*, No. 20, Legajo 43. Mss. Papeles de Cuba Archivo General de Indias.

their efforts. He was equally ready to encourage them openly when Spain's necessities promised a favorable result. At the same time his eagerness to obtain the Floridas, with the unquestioned right of navigating the Mississippi, led him to proffer a tempting bribe. In return for the desired cession on favorable terms he promised to guarantee the remaining possessions of Spain beyond the Mississippi.<sup>18</sup> In this fashion may we imagine ambitious barbarian chieftains intriguing with each other or bargaining with the Romans for a foothold on the far side of the Danube.

But with all Jefferson's finesse or his superior insistence, the American government was unable to gain more than its full claims under the Treaty of 1783, and not even so much until the Jay Treaty promised better relations with Great Britain. As a counterpoise, Godoy, in 1795, signed the Treaty of the Escorial, conceding the American claim to the Natchez region, the navigation of the Mississippi, and the necessary privilege of deposit at New Orleans.<sup>19</sup> Farther than this the Spanish favorite would not go. He must at all hazards hold the right bank of the American Danube and keep possible invaders from the actual littoral of the Gulf.

Even with these limitations Carondelet, Gayoso, and other harassed frontier officials were little pleased with a compromise that conceded so much. They had labored long, and apparently fruitlessly, with stubborn frontiersmen, inconstant Indians, and fickle subjects; and their policy, if random suggestion and feeble effort can be so designated, was to be discarded before it had been fairly tried. Under the circumstances they were ready to second the efforts of the home officials to frustrate the convention of 1795 as soon as the latter recovered from the momentary indecision caused by the Jay Treaty. Pre-

<sup>18</sup> W. R. Manning in *Amer. Hist. Assn., Report*, 1904, 421.

<sup>19</sup> *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, I, 535-549.



texts were not lacking. The Blount Conspiracy threatened them with a combined Anglo-American invasion from Canada and from the Southwest.<sup>20</sup> The Kentucky conspirators once more experienced itching palms.<sup>21</sup> The Tennessee Yazoo Company planned to carry on commerce from Muscle Shoals to Mobile.<sup>22</sup> More menacing still, the transfer of Louisiana and the Floridas to France threatened to unsettle all recent treaties and undo the work of the Seven Years' War.

The last-named possibility aroused the apprehensions of the American frontiersmen, partly quieted by the treaty of 1795, and led them to contemplate new aggressions. At Natchez the astronomer Ellicott, delayed in his task of surveying the southern boundary, encouraged a bloodless insurrection among the Anglo-American settlers that swept away the last vestige of Spanish control in that settlement. This event should have warned the Spanish-Americans against alien immigration but it did not, as West Florida, Texas, and California were later to prove. Moreover, Ellicott claimed that he and his associates were prepared, upon the first outbreak of hostilities, to occupy New Orleans and all the Spanish holdings to the eastward.<sup>23</sup> The major part of the alien residents of this region were ready to throw off their nominal allegiance and welcome such intervention, with much the same spirit that led the subject population of the Roman Empire to welcome the Germanic invaders.

Possibly this fact helped to expedite the transfer of the threatened region to Napoleon. While many of the Spanish officials hardly welcomed the presence of the French legionaries, they were reconciled, like their pro-

<sup>20</sup> F. J. Turner in *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, X, 273-275.

<sup>21</sup> *Supra*, note 17.

<sup>22</sup> "Documents Relating to Zachariah Cox," in *Quarterly Publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio*, VIII, Nos. 2 and 3.

<sup>23</sup> Ellicott to secretary of state, Jan. 10, 1799, Ms. in "Ellicott and the Southern Boundary," Bureau of Rolls and Library, State Department.



totypes in ancient Italia or Hispania, to the cohorts of the modern Justinian if he promised to free them from a more dreaded invader. The frontiersman, so far as he was concerned, proposed, in true barbarian fashion, to take the affair into his own hands. The elder Daniel Clark offered to shoulder a musket and march with his whole family against New Orleans, upon a reasonable prospect of eating his Christmas dinner there with "Governor Wilkinson."<sup>24</sup> His nephew, who professed himself as ready to welcome a legion of devils as one of French troops, believed that the American general committed a fatal error in neglecting to accept his uncle's offer. After failing to get employment under the French, he made every possible shift to enroll American volunteers and, combining with Wilkinson's regulars, to seize New Orleans before Victor's anticipated arrival.<sup>25</sup>

During this period of international uncertainty the Spaniard did not feel more kindly disposed towards his restless neighbors. Georgia, Kentucky, and Tennessee formed a recruiting ground for "white Indians,"<sup>26</sup> whose vanguard of boisterous boatmen, now crowding into New Orleans, suggested the worst possibilities of river piracy. Natchez and Baton Rouge were equally terrorized by "vagabonds" of this class. "Alligator; Half man and half horse," the champion of one such group proudly proclaimed himself, when about to engage in vicious personal combat with a fellow of like lineage and character.<sup>27</sup> Unconsciously he represented the primitive fighting instinct that once animated the leaders of rival clans in the German forests. But his

<sup>24</sup> D. Clark to Wilkinson, Nov. 3, 1798. Wilkinson, *Memoirs of My Own Times*, II, 122.

<sup>25</sup> D. Clark Jr. to Wilkinson, April 13, 1803, *ibid.*, pp. 16; also in "Letters Received," War Department.

<sup>26</sup> Grand Pré to (Folch?), July 19, 1804. Ms. in Spanish Transcripts, Department of Archives and History, Jackson, Miss.; J. A. Robertson, *List of Documents in Spanish Archives* . . . No. 4982.

<sup>27</sup> C. Schultz Jr., *Travels on an Inland Voyage* . . . II, 145.

drunken boasting did not thereby commend him to his chronicler nor to the Spanish officials.

Mingled with the swarm of boatmen were deserters, criminals, smugglers, and other vagabonds of equal degree, whose presence troubled the authorities on both sides of the line.<sup>28</sup> At the same time energetic traders, emissaries to the Indians, applicants for land grants, and others of still more uncertain but equally troublesome status aroused immediate anxiety, to say nothing of more gloomy forebodings for the future. Even the friendly advances of him who aspired to lead this motley horde partook of a mercenary suggestion. For a time the Spaniards lost faith in the former champions of western separatism, and this lack of confidence also extended to the administration in Philadelphia.<sup>29</sup>

The pacific tone that Jefferson at first assumed served as little to reassure the Spaniards as to quiet the frontiersmen, whatever its effect elsewhere. The prospective transfer of Louisiana to France soon caused the President to change that tone to one of vigorous protest. The action of Morales in closing the Mississippi to American commerce, apparently a necessary element in the same transfer, stimulated in still greater measure the predatory spirit of the Westerner. His legislative assemblies adopted belligerent resolutions, with which the Federalists attempted to fan the war flame. Wilkinson, Claiborne, and Clark schemed to preoccupy New Orleans, prevent Victor's troops from landing, or exterminate them if they should attempt it.<sup>30</sup> A correspondent from Natchez wished to know how long the western people would permit the "reptile Spaniards" to hamper their trade, while Jefferson dallied with the ceremonies

<sup>28</sup> *Mississippi Territorial Archives*, I, *passim*; Andrew Ellicott, *Journal* . . . 182.

<sup>29</sup> *Revista*, Jan.-Feb., 1915, 68.

<sup>30</sup> D. Clark to Wilkinson, April 13, 1803. Mss. "Letters Received," War Department.

of European diplomacy.<sup>31</sup> But it was precisely this dalliance that occupied Jefferson and his advisers, and in the due course of time he received a surprising reward. The capricious Napoleon offered to sell him the province of Louisiana.

This betrayal by Napoleon confirmed the worst fears of the Spaniards. Instead of showing himself the Theodosius or the Justinian of the modern Latin world, as they had once anticipated, the Corsican proved to be its Valens, exposing its inner provinces to the dreaded invader. But they were not yet ready wholly to forego control of the American Danube. By fortifying the Floridas, still rightfully theirs, and by threatening the new possessions of the Anglo-Americans from the rear, they hoped to defeat any disordered project to invade Mexico.<sup>32</sup> But after carefully considering their slender resources, they were reluctantly compelled to abandon any such plan of defense.

An alternative one seemed more promising — to exchange the Floridas for the territory west of the Mississippi. Even Monroe was at first in accord with this idea,<sup>33</sup> which was so acceptable to timorous Americans of provincial views. But from the banks of the Mississippi itself came Wilkinson's prediction that there could be no partnership in the navigation of that river, although from interested motives he tried to persuade the Spaniards to the contrary.<sup>34</sup> Breckenridge of Kentucky refused to limit the Goddess of Liberty to water courses.<sup>35</sup> The President himself wisely counseled patience. In keeping with his counsel, the United States came in due time to possess all — the Floridas, Louisiana, Texas, and

<sup>31</sup> Quoted by F. P. Goodwin, in *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, XVI, 330, from *Western Spy*, Mar. 2, 1803.

<sup>32</sup> Casa Yrujo to Cevallos, Aug. 3, 1803, Robertson, *op. cit.*, II, 69-77.

<sup>33</sup> Hamilton, *Writings of James Monroe*, IV, 24-26.

<sup>34</sup> See his "Reflections" published by Robertson, *op. cit.*, II, 325-347.

<sup>35</sup> *Annals of Congress*, 8th Cong., 1st Sess., 47.

the provinces beyond to the Pacific. To this imperialistic conception the Mississippi was a continual incentive, not a barrier. No one who has watched a sunset from the bluffs at Natchez will doubt its lure as a highway into the unknown West.

As on the old Danubian frontier, the alien invaders introduced themselves into this region by scarcely perceptible stages. Before the American Revolution the presence of arms, ammunition, and articles of British manufacture among the Texas Indians attracted the attention of the Spanish authorities.<sup>36</sup> That contest aroused fears of an invasion of political ideals still more dreaded. In the last two decades of the eighteenth century American pioneers began to line the banks of the Red and Washita, and, if we may believe churchly report, to encourage their robust sons by the prediction, "You, my boy, will be the one to go to Mexico."<sup>37</sup> Adventurous traders, of whom Philip Nolan was easily chief, roamed through Texas and the neighboring provinces in search of military data as well as mustangs, and Jefferson himself took an interest in their varied stock of wilderness lore.<sup>38</sup> At times, as in Nolan's case, these traders met the fate of the too-hardy adventurer, but an occasional death did not apparently diminish their number, nor daunt their ambition. Upper Louisiana equally attracted them. Its fur trade was largely in the hands of Canadians. Moses Austin — another suggestive name — was developing its lead mines. The settlement of Daniel Boone and his companions marked an outpost on the road to Santa Fé, where foreign intruders were even then presenting a serious problem.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>36</sup> H. E. Bolton, *Athanase de Mézières and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier, 1768-1780*, I, 76.

<sup>37</sup> Charles Gayarré, *History of Louisiana*, IV, 407, 408.

<sup>38</sup> Texas State Historical Association, *Quarterly*, X, 55-58.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, XII, 31; Isaac J. Cox, *Early Exploration of Louisiana*, 116-119.

The position of the Spanish colonial authorities, confronted by this modern folk-wandering, bears some slight resemblance to that of the later Roman emperors. The captain-general at Havana, like his Byzantine prototype, was the first to encounter the threatening irruption. The fears of his western colleague, the Mexican viceroy, gave little hope of adequate aid from that source. The question of defense was rendered more difficult by the unexpected and unfounded claim of the United States to West Florida. Possessing a limited diplomatic tradition only, Jefferson and his advisers pushed this claim with persistence and skill, but were not unscrupulous enough in overt act to insure success.

This element the irresponsible frontiersmen abundantly supplied. In ever-increasing numbers they were pursuing the pathway to the Southwest. The Mississippi boatmen, Folch's "white Indians," returning overland by scores from New Orleans, aroused great concern in the Spanish commandant at Baton Rouge. Emigrants from Tennessee, the Carolinas, and Georgia passed through Mobile in a ceaseless stream to New Orleans and westward.<sup>40</sup> With their slender, ill-equipped garrisons Grand Pré and Folch could but watch the motley procession and wonder apprehensively when it would sweep them out of its pathway. Meanwhile the Callers, Kempers, and Kennedys confirmed their worst fears by threats of invasion or by actual attempts that the United States did little to check.<sup>41</sup>

At intervals the Spaniards permitted a restricted commerce on the Mobile and anon attempted to prevent

<sup>40</sup> Folch to Someruelos, Aug. 31, 1809. Mss. Cuban Papers, Legajo, 1567.

<sup>41</sup> The manuscript "Claiborne Correspondence" in the Department of Archives and History, Jackson, Miss., partly duplicated in the Bureau of Rolls and Library, Department of State, and the letters of Judge Harry Toulmin to Madison in the Madison Papers, Library of Congress, give in detail the events along the Florida frontier.



it. Criminals, deserters, and fugitive slaves formed an unwelcome addition to the population of the Floridas, that was matched by like fugitives from their territory within American lines. The harassed Spaniards protested alike against Jefferson's claim to West Florida and his attempt to apply the embargo to the region. They complained of the expense of the Indian trade, but encouraged the Indians, as possible allies, to resort to Mobile and Pensacola. They viewed incoming Americans with suspicion, and narrowly watched their subjects of French extraction. They gave concession after concession to popular discontent, but believed themselves powerless to prevent its ripening into insurrection because of American encouragement. And finally, after intrigue, insurrection, and open invasion had done its worst, they saw themselves obliged to yield the Floridas to their all-powerful neighbors, without gaining Louisiana in exchange.

Farther west they were likewise pursuing a losing fight. The Texas border area presented the same set of problems as Florida. The Anglo-American rush into Louisiana after 1803 speedily filled up the city of New Orleans to repletion and disturbed everywhere the bucolic simplicity of Creole life.<sup>42</sup> Nor did the Louisiana habitants regard this invasion as less barbarous because many of its reputed leaders introduced the perplexities of American litigation to bolster up their unconscionable land grabs. The pretensions of this new population inevitably bred a rivalry that long disturbed local politics.

It was not this problem that worried the frontier commanders of Texas and their superiors, but the fact that the American government put forward pretensions to the province and encouraged the recent arrivals in Louisiana to regard it as their next acquisition. The

<sup>42</sup> Isaac J. Cox, "The Louisiana-Texas Frontier," in *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XXII, 1-42, 140-187.



swarm of traders, smugglers, squatters, and Indian hunters — the vanguard of a speedy advance — reached the border as soon as the new Anglo-American garrisons. Hard in their wake came the more substantial settlers to hold firmly what these pioneers had gained and to make good their toast, "The ancient boundaries of Louisiana — republics never contract their limits."<sup>43</sup> The long-dreaded frontiersmen clamored at the very gates of the Interior Provinces. In addition Lewis and Clark were leading an exploring expedition up the Missouri on their way to the Pacific. William Dunbar and George Hunter were to direct another up the Red.<sup>44</sup> The frontier authorities had already set their guards in motion to intercept these intruders and to reoccupy earlier Spanish presidial stations, when rumor of Burr's projects threatened the realization of their worst forebodings.

As ex-vice-president of the United States, Aaron Burr wielded little political power. An indicted refugee from New York, pursued by Jefferson's enmity, bankrupt, with no immediate prospect of recovering personal or political fortune, he should naturally have caused the Spanish authorities little concern; but they persisted in magnifying his power to harm them. A remarkable personal magnetism offset by an air of inscrutable mystery, vague hints of stupendous enterprises, skilful appeals to youthful ambition, guarded offers of exalted station — all of these rendered him an object of distrust to possible enemies. Moreover, he was a close personal friend of the commander of the American army and likely to become influential in the newer West, whose shifting population was ever ready to take up arms against the Spaniard. These last-named factors gave the so-called Burr Conspiracy its real significance.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Walter F. McCaleb, *The Aaron Burr Conspiracy*, 112.

<sup>44</sup> Cox, *Early Exploration of Louisiana*, chaps. 2 and 9.

<sup>45</sup> McCaleb, *op. cit.*, gives the best account of the Burr Conspiracy. Miss Leslie Henshaw edits some additional documents of importance in the

In the latter part of 1806 the western stage was set for the picturesque drama in which he was to play the leading, but still undetermined part. On the Texas frontier a few Spanish regulars and hastily collected battalions of provincial militia confronted like forces of Anglo-Americans, whom they regarded as the forerunners of Burr's myriads. At Baton Rouge, Folch and Grand Pré awaited the initial attack. From St. Louis Pike was pursuing the trail to Santa Fé, obviously on some mission connected with Burr's plan. That conspirator himself, after fruitless conferences with the British and Spanish ministers, was about to journey westward, evidently to set in train some alluring enterprise. The clash between Anglo-American and Spanish-American seemed inevitable, with Burr ready to essay in Mexico the character of Alaric or of Theodoric as fortune should determine.

That the clash was delayed for forty years was largely due to the craftiness of Burr's associate, Gen. James Wilkinson. Assuming the rôle of the Vandal Stilicho, he used his influence and the slender regular army under his command to overthrow the irregular invasion which his promptings had fostered. Nor in the matter of reward did he forget the practice of his barbarian prototype. The betrayal of his colleague was likely to be his last service for the Spaniards and he was determined to make it lucrative. Fortunately the Viceroy had lost faith in his efficiency as well as his integrity and refused to honor his shameless attempt at blackmail. Neither did his brief period of martial rule in New Orleans commend him to the American authorities, nor his Neutral Ground Agreement restore peace to the troubled frontier.

In addition to his contemplated invasion of Mexico

Burr may have considered an appeal to western separatism; but we shall not discuss this phase of his activity. Suffice it to say that he was an opportunist; yet as he floated down the Mississippi, attended only by a few score of boatmen instead of ten thousand armed riflemen, his opportunities seemed slight indeed. But they were enough to render his presence on the Washita or on the Tombigbee equally disquieting to Americans or Spaniards. While his arrest enabled both to breathe more freely, the name "Burrites" long served to characterize any suspicious group of western frontiersmen.

The peril thus narrowly averted became imminent when Napoleon's intervention in Spain divided the Latin peoples in Europe and threw the Spanish dependencies upon their own resources. Forced to organize against possible French agents, they used the power thus gained to break loose from the Mother Country. The United States took more than casual interest in this movement that seemed in so many ways to resemble its own earlier contest for independence.<sup>46</sup>

Traders started for Santa Fé, filibusters poured into Texas, pirates coursed the Gulf, slave traders infested the Louisiana bayous, while their confederates in New Orleans reaped a harvest of ill-gotten gain. In these years, if ever, might the Spanish colonial authorities say with truth that they were confronted by barbarism, and the most crassly material form of barbarism at that. Though proclaiming liberty and the rights of man, even such magic terms could not sanctify the deeds of these motley renegades.<sup>47</sup>

When in the due course of events Mexico and her sister colonies became independent, her chief heritage

<sup>46</sup> Isaac J. Cox, "The Pan-American Policy of Jefferson and Wilkinson," in *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, I, 212-239.

<sup>47</sup> Four manuscript volumes of "Notas Diplomáticas" from the *Archivo General*, Mexico City, contain much of importance for the Louisiana-Texas frontier during the decade, 1810-20.

from the Spanish monarchy was a distrust of Anglo-American commercial views and territorial claims.<sup>48</sup> In spite of this feeling her new rulers opened Texas to Austin and his fellow-empresarios, thus disregarding recent history and shutting their eyes to the fate that befell their forbears in Spain, Gaul, and Italy. Possibly, as in that case, they could do nothing else, once the vanguard of their opponents had crossed the American Danube.

In modest numbers, indeed, Austin and his associates introduced their pioneer quotas. The vast majority of them were actual settlers, not refugees or riffraff, but they belonged to that same stock that had hitherto caused the Spaniards untold anxiety. They aroused no less concern among the Mexicans. With bad grace these immigrants tolerated the municipal régime in place of the familiar county system. They accepted the munificent land grants of the southern republic, but refused to pay its customs duties, or other legal fees. Joined in political organization with neighboring Coahuila, they aimed at separate statehood. Living under a civil code as old as Rome itself, they really practiced, as far as they observed legal procedure at all, the customary law of their Germanic ancestors. In a country that preferred the peonage system, they forced the toleration of African slavery. On their advent professing the Catholic faith, they encouraged itinerant Protestant preachers or lived without religious instruction. In short, there was no union between Mexican and American but a forced one, for each cherished inherited prejudices too strongly to admit the good points of the other.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Mississippi Valley Historical Association, *Proceedings*, 1909-10, 211, note 21.

<sup>49</sup> G. P. Garrison, *Texas: a Contest of Civilizations*, *passim*, and the articles by E. C. Barker in the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* are especially suggestive for the events mentioned in this and the two succeeding paragraphs.

The inevitable outbreak was not long delayed. The skirmish in Edwards' colony, known as the Fredonian War, aroused the Mexicans to the danger within their borders. In connection with the expressed desire of the American government to buy Texas, it led Lucas Alamán, the secretary of foreign relations in 1830, to review the process by which the United States acquired territory and to suggest certain changes in the colonization laws that would save Texas to the Mexican Republic. But the awakening was too late and not followed with energy. In fact, during this period and previous to the war with the United States, the struggle for supremacy among self-appointed Mexican leaders bears more than a fancied resemblance to the contests for the Roman purple during the concluding days of the empire, and equally hampered all effort to meet the invading Anglo-Americans.

The outbreak of hostilities in 1835 not only brought the embattled Texan into conflict with the Mexican, but started a sympathetic movement throughout the whole Mississippi Valley. Men publicly enlisted in the cause, amid the plaudits of their admiring womenfolk, nor did the authorities display aught but indifference or willful blindness. Then flocked into Texas by hundreds the same class of men that had threatened to force the Mississippi and the Mobile, or had followed Jackson in his Florida campaigns. With their aid the result was a foregone conclusion. San Jacinto was the western Soissons, with Sam Houston as first of a brief but distinguished line of modern Merovingians.

The independence of Texas and its subsequent annexation to the United States did not close this chapter of folk-wandering, granted that it is closed even now. New Mexico and California lay beyond in regular succession. The unsettled Texas boundary afforded a pretext for aggression. With the first summons to arms in 1846 the population of the great West was in motion, just



as it had been forty years before on a similar occasion. This time there was no Neutral Ground Agreement to stay its onward course. Santa Fé, and the coast of Upper California; Chihuahua, Monterey, and the North Mexican States; Vera Cruz and the Valley of Mexico — these were the prizes that the forces of Kearny, Taylor, and Scott, largely volunteers from the Mississippi Valley, quickly found within their grasp. Unjust and causeless some characterize this war; but its campaigns recall the earlier barbarian onslaughts upon the degenerate defenders of the Roman Empire, and in audacity rival the exploits of Cortez.

From another aspect the invasion is less creditable to Anglo-American arms. Witness the following excerpt from Santa Anna's correspondence, suggesting the complaint of Augustine over the ruin wrought upon the Roman world, and not unfamiliar to our more sensitive modern ear:

I have with pain and indignation, received communications from the cities and towns occupied by the army of your excellency, upon the violations of temples consecrated to the worship of God; upon the robbery of the sacred vessels, and profanation of the images, venerated by the Mexican people. I have been profoundly afflicted by the complaints of fathers and husbands upon the violation of their wives and daughters. Those same cities and towns have been sacked, not only in violation of the armistice, but even of the sacred principles recognized and observed by civilized nations. I have guarded silence until now, for the purpose of not chilling a negotiation that gave hopes of terminating a scandalous war, which your excellency has justly characterized as unnatural.<sup>50</sup>

Possibly the Mexican dictator was seeking pretexts to break off negotiation with Scott but, unfortunately for the reputation of the American army of that day, there is much evidence from friendly sources to confirm his charges. The American volunteer in 1846 sustained

<sup>50</sup> A. A. Livermore, *The War with Mexico Reviewed*, 155.



the reputation of Jackson's militiamen. Many of the heinous acts charged against him were undertaken in the spirit of retaliation; but so has the pioneer ever justified his course. It was the volunteer, and especially the volunteer from the Texas border, influenced by memories of the Alamo and Goliad, and by more recent border raids, who was all too ready to wreak vengeance upon his treacherous, but pitifully helpless opponent. On the other hand the American forces as a whole cleaned up and policed the Mexican cities, fed the starving population, repressed brigandage and guerrilla warfare, established a provisional government, and in the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo provided for future arbitration of differences between the two countries. Even if the millions paid then and later to the distressed foe only partially atone for Mexico's ravished possessions, it was the aggressive Polk who preserved her from complete absorption. In this way he and his successors saved an alien people from the elements of destruction within itself.

In this hurried but far too-lengthy comparison we have doubtless introduced much that seems purely fanciful, but may we for a brief moment trespass still farther upon your patience. The so-called fall of the Roman Empire was really a struggle between two groups of barbarians for supremacy. The members of one group had entered measurably into the fullness of the life they appeared to supplant and were its real defenders against their less-cultured fellows. Have we as Anglo-Americans yet developed a corresponding group to protect and preserve what is best in the life, culture, and traditions of our Latin-American neighbors? On the other hand a recent essayist has declared that the Roman mind could never appreciate the spiritual side of life. In like manner did the Spaniards of the early nineteenth century — calling themselves the Romans of the modern world —

and their Mexican successors fail to appreciate the real virtues of the Anglo-American pioneer. In this failure to appreciate their antagonists, as well as to fear or despise them, both peoples have been equally remiss. But is this mutual misunderstanding to continue indefinitely? *Quien sabe?*

## A NOTE ON THE ORGANIZATION OF THE OLDEST SCHOOL FOR GIRLS IN THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY

BY CAROLINE FRANCIS RICHARDSON

We hear a great deal today about the preparation of teachers. Longer grow the years of apprenticeship and more rigid become the scholastic requirements. Competition waxes keen and sometimes only an ability to "produce" will assure success. The preparation of the first teachers of the oldest school for girls in the Mississippi Valley was not, perhaps, strictly in accord with twentieth-century demands, but it was comprehensive, resourceful, and efficient to an unusual degree. The ten Ursuline Sisters who reached New Orleans on Aug. 7, 1727, were equipped with religious zeal, physical courage, mental alertness, executive ability, and a sense of humor. These are admirable foundation qualities on which to build an educational institution.

We know of the existence of these qualities, as we know of many historical facts, through the written records of the two Sisters who did "produce." Reverend Mother Tranchepain<sup>1</sup> and her secretary, Madeleine Hachard,<sup>2</sup> wrote letters that give the details of the preparation and the leave-taking in France, of the long hazardous journey, of their first impression of the Louisiana colony, and of the beginnings of the school. Accessible information of the establishment of the Ursulines in New Orleans may be found in the treaty made by the *Compagnie*

<sup>1</sup> *Relation du Voyage des Premières Ursulines à la Nouvelle Orléans*

<sup>2</sup> Gabriel Gravier (ed.), *Relation du voyage des dames Religieuses Ursulines de Rouen à la Nouvelle Orléans*.

*des Indes* with the Ursulines,<sup>3</sup> in the *Brevet*<sup>4</sup> of Louis XV, in the letters and journals of those nearly contemporary travelers and historians, Charlevoix<sup>5</sup> and Bossu,<sup>6</sup> and, of course, in the work of later Louisiana historians;<sup>7</sup> but colorful, intimate knowledge is gained from the writings of the two women who "produced."

For the coming of the Ursulines Bienville may receive the major share of credit. Now Jean Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville was a gentleman, soldier, high adventurer, and practical executive. It was this last quality that made him realize after close association with the projected schemes and the romantic experiments in connection with the development of the lower Mississippi, that certain things were needful if New Orleans was to endure and to expand. Among these things were a hospital and a school for girls. The first was obligatory because of the fevers that were a concomitant of the amphibious nature of the city, and the wounds that were the result of legitimate warfare or personal dispute. The second was desirable because the daughters of respectable families must be educated, and orphans should be cared for. Competent and devoted service were necessary for both enterprises and such service was to be found in completeness among the women of religious orders. Bienville's first efforts were directed toward the *Soeurs Grises* of his native Canada. Unsuccessful, he applied, by the advice of Father Beaubois (the lately arrived Superior of the Jesuits) to the Ursulines of Rouen. There Bienville found ready sympathy and ardent enthusiasm.

<sup>3</sup> Henry Reñshaw, "The Louisiana Ursulines," in Louisiana Historical Society, *Publications*, II, pt. 4, 22-36; B. F. French, *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, III, 80.

<sup>4</sup> Reñshaw, *op. cit.*, 61.

<sup>5</sup> P. F. X. Charlevoix, *Histoire et description générale de la Nouvelle France* . . .

<sup>6</sup> N. Bossu, *Nouveaux voyages aux Indes Occidentales*, Ier partie, 28.

<sup>7</sup> Ficklen, Fortier, Gayarré, King, Martin, etc. To any records in the Ursuline Convent of New Orleans I have not had access.

The arrangements for the journey and for the subsequent work of the Sisters were prosaically practical. There was no romantic declaration of intentions, no picturesque vagueness about future obligations or recompense. Bienville laid his project before the *Compagnie des Indes*. That corporation was of variable efficiency and spectacular imagination. But its treaty with the Ursulines shows only a businesslike determination to get a good deal for its money, and by means of twenty-eight articles all duties and privileges are clearly defined. The privileges included passage money, an allowance of 600 livres annually for each nun and for each of the eight servants who were permitted to accompany the religious, a building to be constructed especially for the Ursulines, and the payment of a return-passage for any nun and her servant. The pension of such a one would cease with her departure from New Orleans; and all pensions would cease as soon as the convent should begin to enjoy a revenue from the work of the Sisters and from the plantation which would be given them. The duties of the Sisters concerned first of all the hospital. We today are accustomed to think of the educational work of those pioneer teachers as being the real reason for the assistance given them by the *Compagnie des Indes*. But a reading of the treaty offers another point of view. In the preamble to the articles there is a statement that in addition to the care of the *pauvres malades*, the Company desires at the same time to provide for the education of young girls, and in article six is the request that the Superior will appoint a religious to hold a school for girls, and in article twenty-four we read that when circumstances shall warrant it, the Sisters shall receive boarding pupils. But there is an insistent proviso that those in charge of the sick shall not be detached from their service in the hospital. Of the twenty-eight articles, then, only two deal directly with the education of girls.

With all the requirements and conditions of the treaty the Sisters seem to have been satisfied, and the contract was concluded Sept. 13, 1726.<sup>8</sup> Thanks to the interest of Cardinal Fleury, the personal approval of Louis XV was secured, and in a *Brevet*<sup>9</sup> he gives his sanction to the intention of certain Ursulines to go to Louisiana and to charge themselves with the care of the hospital and at the same time to direct the education of young girls. This *Brevet* overruled various objections which were raised against the venture, and on Jan. 12, 1727, those assigned to the Louisiana mission assembled in the infirmary of the Ursulines at Hennebon, Brittany, and acknowledged the authority of Sister Marie Tranchepain de St. Augustin. On Feb. 23, 1727, the Ursulines,<sup>10</sup> their servants, and two priests<sup>11</sup> set sail in the "Gironde."

The voyage was of five months' duration and no day of that time seems to have been uneventful. There were pirates, there were storms, there was a scarcity of food and drink, there were cannibal islands, and always, always, there was seasickness.<sup>12</sup> When the Balize, at the mouth of the Mississippi, was reached, the travelers still had a long trip of seven days before them, which they spent in pirogues. These dugouts were piled high with

<sup>8</sup> Refishaw, *op cit.*; "Traité de la Compagnie des Indes avec les Ursulines," *Registre des Comptes des Indes*, Tome 2, Au Depot des chartes et archives de la marine; French, *op. cit.*, III, 80.

<sup>9</sup> Refishaw, *op. cit.*, 61.

<sup>10</sup> Soeur Marie Tranchepain de St. Augustin (Mother Superior); Soeur Marguerite Judde de St. Jean l'Evangelite, professe de la Communauté de Rouen; Soeur Marianne Boulanger de St. Angelique de Rouen; Soeur Magdaleine de Mahieu de St. François de Xavier, professe de la Communauté du Havre; Renée Quiquel de Ste. Marie, professe de Vanne; Soeur Marguerite de Salaon de Ste. Therese de Ploemel; Soeur Cecile Cavalier de St. Joseph, professe de la Communauté d'Elboeuf; Soeur Marianne Dair de Ste. Marthe, professe de la Communauté de Hennebon; Soeur Madeline Hachard de St. Stanilas, Novice; Soeur Claude Massy, Seculière de Choeurs; Soeur Anne, Seculière converse.

<sup>11</sup> Père Tartarin, Père Doutreleau (Jesuit missionaries).

<sup>12</sup> Tranchepain: "Ce fut alors que chacun commença à payer le tribut à la mer."



luggage on which were perched uneasily the Sisters, the two priests, the servants, and a number of workmen whom the religious had sensibly brought with them. There were days of scorching August sun and torrential rain, there were nights on a land that was two parts water and a third part mosquitoes.<sup>13</sup> But always, too, there were, as the letters of Madame Tranchepain and her secretary show, courage and alert interest and gayety of heart.

When they reached the city, on Aug. 7, 1727, the Ursulines were conducted to Bienville's *hôtel* which was to serve them as a temporary home. But it was Perier who welcomed them, not Bienville, for he had returned to France to answer charges brought against his management of the colony.

The newcomers found their work waiting for them. The hospital service was impossible for a time because the residence assigned to the nuns until their own should be built was at the end of town farthest from the *pauvres malades*. But there were, Madeleine Hachard writes her father, more than thirty girls asking to be received as boarders;<sup>14</sup> and many negresses and savages came every day from one to half-past two o'clock<sup>15</sup> to be taught something of religion and what we should call the rudiments of domestic science. At once, too, the Sisters took into their home a little orphan whom they found in undesirable surroundings. And all this long before their convent was built. True, it was promised. Governor Perier not only assured the community that it should be built at once, but he had ready the plans all drawn up in proper form. Fortunately the religious did not know that seven years would pass before those plans would be utilized.

<sup>13</sup> Madeleine refers to the mosquitoes as *Messieurs les Maringowins* and *Frappe d'abords*.

<sup>14</sup> Gravier, *op. cit.*, 79.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 85.

In a letter dated April 24, 1728 — only eight months after the arrival of the Ursulines — Madeleine writes her father that the nuns have twenty boarders, of whom eight had that day made their first communion, three ladies who lived at the convent as boarders, three orphans who were kept out of charity, seven slaves whom the Sisters were preparing for baptism and the first communion, a great number of day pupils, and many negresses and savages who came to the convent for instruction two hours each day.<sup>16</sup> She mentions that no money is taken for teaching the day pupils and that the natives do all in their power to show appreciation. Soon after their arrival the Ursulines had been asked to do something for the lowest class of women colonists,<sup>17</sup> and Madeleine points out that within a few months the religious found themselves carrying on the functions of four different communities: that of Ursulines; that of nurses for the sick; that of St. Joseph; and that of a refuge.<sup>18</sup> Furthermore, the *Filles-à-la-cassette* who came with a guarantee of respectability and a dowry provided by the Company were given into the care of the nuns during the very brief interval between the arrival and the marriage of these most desirable colonists. And the children orphaned by the Natchez massacre in 1729 were brought to New Orleans and placed in the Ursuline Convent, the Company paying for their maintenance. A modern university with its colleges and departments could hardly offer more of varied opportunity.

The hospital service had been undertaken as soon as the Ursulines moved from Bienville's hôtel. The date is not known but the removal must have occurred previous to Madeleine Hachard's letter of April 24, 1728, in which she speaks of caring for the sick. The educational work,

<sup>16</sup> Gravier, *op. cit.*, 97, 98.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 84, 85.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 86.

however, having the start, as it were, of the other responsibilities, remained the most noteworthy. Charlevoix says that the work of a school and a hospital were combined because the Company thought it unwise to multiply establishments "dans une Colonie, qui commençoit à peine à se former."<sup>19</sup> Bossu, in mentioning the presence of the Ursulines in New Orleans, refers first to their school, next to their care of orphans, and then adds: "Ces mêmes Religieuses furent chargées du soin de l'hôpital militaire."<sup>20</sup> Evidently the school loomed large. But the hospital service once begun was faithfully performed until the Ursulines were released from that duty by papal dispensation in 1770.

But it is not only of definite effort and achievement that we receive information from the letters of the Mother Superior and her secretary. These were women of keen observation and broad common sense. The trees, the flowers, the food and how to cook it, the mosquitoes — again and again, the mosquitoes — are described and explained and compared with a distinctness that any teacher will long to imitate. And so it is after alluding to the prodigal display of velvets, of paint, and of patches affected by the great ladies of New Orleans that the writer adds that she realizes that to the same bedizened personages the Ursulines owe much of their immediate success, for from the beginning they have been treated with deepest respect by the "principaux."<sup>21</sup> In another letter a description of the strange beauty of Louisiana is followed by a matter-of-fact assertion that the real wealth of the country lies in its natural resources, not in gold or silver mines.<sup>22</sup> We learn, too, that the negresses are easy to teach as soon as they have learned French;<sup>23</sup> but

<sup>19</sup> Charlevoix, *op. cit.*, IV, 239.

<sup>20</sup> Bossu, *op. cit.*, Ier partie, 28.

<sup>21</sup> Gravier, *op. cit.*, 90, 91.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 34.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 91.

there is an uncomfortable suspicion that the savages remain savage even after baptism.<sup>24</sup> And we are told that since the establishment of the Ursulines no girl in the colony is permitted to marry until she has received instruction from the Sisters. This is an early instance of compulsory education.

Into the organization of the Mississippi Valley's first school for girls went many elements. Some were quite practical: The arrangements for the journey, the pensions granted, the promise of a home and plantation, all gave to the enterprise a solidity and permanence that must have been a welcome mundane support when the flesh showed signs of earthly weakness. Some elements were utilitarian: The *Compagnie des Indes* certainly intended to secure cheap and efficient hospital nurses who as a by-service would train and shelter the future wives of their colonists. Some elements were personal: The charm of wholesome individualities, the ability to see and to tell, the grace of style, are qualities difficult to define but undeniable in effect. Some elements were inspirational: The calm bearing in the face of realized danger, the strength that could cope with unheroic discomforts continuing through months, as well as with briefly dramatic proximity to pirates and shipwreck, the sincere and complete devotion to an ideal that called for unceasing progress and a constant vexation of spirit—all this awakens and excites and encourages.

Now the word *organization* denotes, in Coleridge's definition, a connection of parts in and for a whole, so that each part is, at once, end and means. If then such factors as preparedness, usefulness, personality, common sense, and inspiration be assembled and combined into working order, should they not by law reproduce themselves? It is but twelve years less than two hundred

<sup>24</sup> Gravier, *op. cit.*, 92.

years since the organization of the first school for girls in the Mississippi Valley — a sufficient time, one would think, for testing and valuation. Those who teach the girls of the mid-United States today may plan and execute with serenity. They build upon a rock.

## THE BLACK CODE

BY JAMES J. McLOUGHLIN

From time immemorial, dating back to Biblical days, there have been codes of laws or regulations whereby inferiors were governed.

The ancient Egyptians, the Persians, the Greeks, the Romans, all the nations of antiquity who held slaves or servants or subject races under them, prescribed certain rules governing the status and conduct of these subjects or slaves.

It is not my purpose here to pursue the subject of the codes of Greece and Rome, nor to trace their history or influence down to our own time. Rather will I treat of the Black Code as it existed in Louisiana, and review briefly the history of the legislation which resulted in the enactment of that code.

When America was discovered Columbus had as one of his companions in one of his early voyages the great "Apostle to the Indies," Las Casas, who came over seeking profit and adventure in the New World.

It was the custom of the Spanish king to grant to these adventurers, upon conditions, large tracts of land in the new country, including with the land the natives inhabiting the same, who were treated and exploited by the grantee as his slaves.

Under a grant of this kind Las Casas came to America, and began his career in that line. His nature, however, revolted against the great cruelties that were practiced upon the Indians. His temperament led him into religious life and he became attached to one of the monastic orders.



His inclinations to fair dealing with the Americans, coupled with his natural aversion to the savage cruelty that often characterized the Spanish rule of the natives, led him to have the king adopt certain rules and regulations for the amelioration of their law. This was really the beginning of the code in America, which later grew into the Black Code of Louisiana.

It was soon discovered, however, and perhaps through Las Casas' influence it was made apparent, that the Indian was not by nature a docile slave. Consequently, other labor was sought and encouraged by English traders, who were the great leaders of the slave trade in those days. African slaves began to be imported into the West Indies, and they soon replaced the less tractable Indian.

These Africans being brought over in great numbers, their presence required certain regulations, certain control on the part of the government. Colonies of France and Spain in the Indies becoming numerous populated with them, the first succinct or legal code for the governing of the slaves in America was enacted by Louis XIV, Mar. 16, 1685; this was called the "Code Noir."

Like all French government decrees, it was minute and entered into the very details of daily life. It contained sixty articles. Reflecting the strong religious sentiment of the age, it first provided for the religious instruction of the slave. Its first article enjoined all the king's officers in the colonies to expel from their dominions within three months from the publication of the Code, all Jews found there. It proceeded to require that all slaves should be baptized and instructed in the Catholic faith; forbade any religion among the slaves other than the Catholic; and forbade any but Catholic overseers or officials to be placed in charge or control of negroes.

It forbade any one, master or official, to interfere with the practice of their religion by the slaves; it en-

joined the observance of Sundays and holidays; forbade the masters to work their slaves on those days in any field work or any heavy labor. It went on at great length to prescribe the food and clothing to be given to the slaves, and provided for the support of the aged and infirm by their masters; it provided for the care of the sick; and, in general, enjoined, under severe penalties, good treatment of the slave by the master.

It enacted that slaves had no civil rights but belonged absolutely, in themselves and in all that they might acquire, exclusively to their masters; decreed that they had no standing in any civil court; in fact they were as much under the control of their masters as if they were beasts of the field, subject, of course, to the articles of the Code, which recognized their religious rights, and provided for their proper care and maintenance.

Much of the Code is devoted to the method of punishing slaves for offenses. These offenses were subdivided under many heads. The most serious offense, of course, that a slave could commit was to strike his master or a member of the master's family, and if he did so causing an abrasion of the skin or effusion of blood, he would suffer death. Larceny by the slave was not considered a very heinous offense, and was punished with ordinary penalties.

This Code became the law of the French colonies immediately upon its promulgation and was followed at intervals by other decrees supplementing its provisions. For example, in 1736 Louis XV issued a decree regulating the baptism and emancipation of slaves. In 1742 a decree was issued relative to the slave trade, then quite an important branch of commerce.<sup>1</sup>

The Compagnie des Indes Occidental was established

<sup>1</sup> The Code and these additional decrees are found in *Recueils de Reglemens . . . avec "Le Code Noir,"* printed at Paris, 1765, by "Les Libraires Associes"; "*Le Code Noir*," printed by Prault, Paris, 1767.

by royal decree, May 28, 1664, and granted exemptions and privileges by other decrees in the same year; these were followed by others in 1671, 1674, and later years, to the company, which practically controlled all the colonies of France in tropical America and thereabouts, and the provisions of the Black Code were enforced throughout its dominions.

Louisiana being a portion of the colonies of France, of course, fell under the provisions of the Black Code. Bienville, the founder of Louisiana, promulgated a Black Code here. It was a compilation of all the legislation applicable to slaves at that time, and was substantially the same as the Code and the amendments proclaimed by Louis XIV and his successors.<sup>2</sup>

The Spanish governor, O'Reilly, made little or no changes in this Code. On June 1, 1795, Baron Carondelet, then Spanish governor of Louisiana, promulgated a short regulation dealing with "Police of Slaves" which may be called a miniature Black Code, and which was inspired by the bloody uprisings in San Domingo. The provisions of the Carondelet regulation were simply an amplification or extension of some of the provisions of the old Bienville Code.

In 1806, three years after the annexation of Louisiana to the United States, the territorial legislature enacted the famous Black Code of Louisiana, which remained in force, with some slight amendments, until slavery was abolished during the Civil War. The Code is divided into two parts: The first part relates to the duties of masters to slaves, and the privileges of the slaves; the second part relates to the crimes and offenses of slaves.

The first part, for instance, enacts that children under ten years of age are not to be sold apart from their

<sup>2</sup> For English translations of Bienville's Code see Alcée Fortier, *History of Louisiana*, I, 87ff.; and B. F. French, *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, pt. III.

mothers; that slaves must have due respect for white people; that they are not to carry arms; that no liquors are to be sold to slaves; that they are not to ride on horseback; or to leave home, without a permit; that they are to hold no property; prescribes how they are to be fed and clothed, and various other details that look more like the by-laws of a Ladies' Aid Society than the legislation of a sovereign state.

The second part of the Code, covering crimes and offenses, prescribes that slaves charged with a capital offense shall be tried by a judge and three to five freeholders; that the judgment of this court shall be final; and when a slave is condemned to death and executed, the master is to be compensated, and the compensation is to be paid by an assessment on the slave-owners in the district where the slave lived. Masters were punished for willfully killing or inflicting cruel punishment on a slave. Planters were required to have white or free colored overseers on their plantations, and various other similar petty details were provided.

Among the capital crimes were murder; burning any crop or building; poisoning or attempting to poison any person; assault or attempted assault on a white woman; striking master or mistress or children of master, to the extent of an abrasion or drawing of blood; and inciting an insurrection. One of the articles provided that any slave disclosing a plot of other slaves for an insurrection or uprising should be granted his freedom.

This Black Code of 1806 was amended in minor details by several acts until, in 1846, some material changes were made, particularly in the method of slave trials.<sup>3</sup>

They were made more formal. In capital offenses the district attorney was to prosecute; the trial was to be by a jury composed of two justices of the peace and ten slave owners. One justice and nine jurors consti-

<sup>3</sup> By Act 137, session of 1846.

tuted a quorum, and a unanimous verdict was required, and an appeal was permitted.

In the trial of cases other than capital, one justice and two slave owners were all that were required and the district attorney was not called upon to be a party to the proceeding. Affidavits were required in advance of trial, which was quite different from the old code of 1806 where none was required.

In 1855 a new Black Code was enacted by the legislature,<sup>4</sup> which was quite extensive and embraced everything that was proper to be continued from the old codes, in addition to considerable new matter. It was a very comprehensive measure but, fortunately or unfortunately, the supreme court declared it unconstitutional, thus wiping it off the statute list.<sup>5</sup>

Reading over all these various Black Codes of France, Spain, and Louisiana, one may well agree with our great juriconsult, Alfred Hennen, who, in his digest, lays down this maxim: "A slave's best protection was his value, and the damage due to his master for injuries inflicted upon him." Slaves were property, treated as such, and as such were of so much value to their owners that it was to the interest of the owner to see that they were properly treated and cared for.

In this short review of the history of the Black Code I have not attempted to review the innumerable city ordinances enacted in New Orleans and other towns of this State, dealing with various phases of slave life. Beginning with the code or digest of city ordinances published by John Renard, the city printer of New Orleans in 1808, we find numerous ordinances relating to slaves; they deal with such privileges as forbidding any slaves to attend wakes unless they were relatives of the deceased slave; they regulate slave gatherings; regulate the keep-

<sup>4</sup> Act 308, session of 1855.

<sup>5</sup> Case of State v. Harrison, 11 An., 722.



ing of runaway slaves; regulate driving of vehicles by slaves; compel slaves to wear a badge when they were hired out, together with many other provisions regarding their daily life and occupation.

The Black Code died with slavery. It is but a shadowy relic of the Past that will never again become a Present. Yet those still living who can remember the days of slavery agree that a Black Code was necessary to regulate the social life of the South in those days. In its provisions relating to the treatment of slaves it was, in the main, kind and considerate; and in many respects less harsh than were the provisions of the famous Blue Laws of Connecticut, wherein it was sought to control the daily life of those fortunate or unfortunate enough to live under their jurisdiction, and particularly in the provisions of the Blue Laws concerning people who were not of the "elect."

Even today we have echoes of the times of the Black Code, in our Jim Crow laws, in our separate street cars for the two races, in the laws passed here and there in the various cities of the country, for segregating negroes, and in legislation providing separate schools for the blacks and the whites, and forbidding intermarriage of the races.

In fact, the Black Code was simply an expression of an innate necessity of nature to keep the races pure, and in that respect it was a benefit to both. And while the abolition of slavery has relegated this Code to oblivion, a study of its provisions will be helpful to those of us who have as one of our tasks the solution of the race problem, which is ever present when unwise legislators strive to force a superior and an inferior race to measure their lives by the same moral and intellectual standard.



## JOSEPH REYNOLDS AND THE DIAMOND JO LINE STEAMERS, 1862-1911

BY GEORGE B. MERRICK

Back of every great enterprise or achievement is a personality. A multitude of men may have contributed of their brain and brawn toward the result attained, but back of these we have learned to look for the guiding spirit — the mind of the machine, whence both its inception and the power that drives its multiplicity of cogs and wheels is derived. It often happens that this central figure is not as conspicuous in the public eye as that of other men of lesser caliber, but whose administrative functions have given them greater prominence. Particularly is this true in the case of great corporations, where the active agent is often mistaken for the more powerful impelling and constructive genius lying back of the enterprise, whose duties do not bring him as prominently before the public, and whose name often does not appear in the caption of the corporation in which he really is the impelling force.

In the case under consideration, the history of the Diamond Jo Line of Steamers, the converse of this proposition is true. Every mention of the title of this great packet company recalls the fact that Joseph Reynolds was part and parcel of the enterprise. In its inception he was in fact the whole company; and after it had developed into a large corporation involving more than half a million of dollars invested, he owned a great majority of the stock, and until his death his was the hand that guided and his the brain that devised.

Reynolds was in no sense a steamboat man at the

start. He had no idea of engaging in the business beyond the protection of the grain and produce trade that he was building up between Prairie du Chien and river ports to the northward as far as Lansing, Iowa, and Desoto, Wisconsin, where he practically controlled the grain trade. The great corporation of later years with its capital stock of half a million and its fleet of large and beautiful steamers was but the outgrowth, or expansion, of the modest personal investment in steamboat property rendered necessary by the exigencies of his business in earlier years.

Reynolds was a very reticent man, a trait common to strong characters in all generations. It follows, therefore, that little is known of his early life. He talked but little of his boyhood days, or the struggles of young manhood, when he was making a start in business life. What we know of these years is gleaned from the oral accounts of relatives and friends. To Capt. John Killeen<sup>1</sup> of

<sup>1</sup> Capt. John Killeen might well be selected as typifying the highest class of Mississippi River steamboat captains. It is a profession that is not taught in the universities. It cannot be learned in the correspondence schools. It must be learned at first-hand in the hard school of practice, and to know it as it ought to be known one must begin at the bottom and learn it step by step. Deep-water sailors have a saying that they apply to their most efficient commanders, that "they came in through the cabin window"—that is, they began as cabin boys on board ship, and climbed to the quarter-deck, through all the stages of seamanship. The same is true on the river; the most competent and successful commanders have been those who began at the bottom, and step by step learned all that a master in command of a big river boat should know to enable him to meet promptly and intelligently the varying conditions as they are presented in storm and fire and wreck, or in the less spectacular but just as essential duties required in handling his boat and his crew under the ordinary conditions of everyday life. Above all, he must have good judgment and courage—a courage of the kind that never permits its possessor to "lose his nerve." These are essentials.

John Killeen was born in Ireland, Nov. 27, 1844. His mother died when he was five years old, and his father when he was but nine. He began his river service when in his tenth year, out of St. Louis, first as a deck-sweep, lamp-boy, and later as a deck hand. In the spring of 1861, in his seventeenth year, he was working on the "Nebraska," in the St. Louis

Dubuque, who for many years was a trusted employee of the company, during a part of which time he was general superintendent of the line and the confidential adviser

and New Orleans trade. The opening of hostilities between North and South found his boat at New Orleans, loaded for St. Louis. In a recent chat the Captain related the difficulty his boat experienced in getting back to the North on her last trip. Three boats, the "Nebraska," on which he was employed, the "Westmoreland," and the "Prince of Wales," left New Orleans on the same evening. The "Nebraska" alone got through, the others being halted and turned back for the use of the Confederacy. The "Nebraska" was stopped by the Confederate garrison at Island No. 10, and was held there for something over twenty-four hours, awaiting the decision of the authorities as to whether they would release her or not. She was the last boat to make the trip from New Orleans to St. Louis until after the blockade was raised, more than two years later.

The lower river being blocked young Killeen came north, and in the spring of 1862 we find him making and setting up the rigging of the new steamer "Lansing," the first boat of the Diamond Jo fleet—it was not a "line" at that time, only a single boat—of which J. B. Wilcox was master, plying between Prairie du Chien and Lansing. He ran on the "Lansing" as deck hand until she was sold to the Minnesota Packet Company in midsummer, 1862, when the entire crew was transferred to the "Flora." After making one trip as deck hand, Captain Wilcox and his mate having disagreed young Killeen was appointed mate, under protest, as he did not think himself old enough to take charge of a boat's crew; but Captain Wilcox insisted that he was plenty old enough and entirely capable, and he was practically forced to accept. This was the beginning of a friendship between the two men that lasted until the death of Captain Wilcox. While employed on the "Flora" Killeen formed the acquaintance of three men of the crew between whom there also grew up a close and lasting friendship; William Boland, later captain, and also brother-in-law of the Captain, who died in May, 1891, and is buried in Mt. Olivet Cemetery, Dubuque; Harry Leitch, later mate, now living at Quincy, Ill.; and Dan Hall, later mate, now living at Trufant, Mich.—a friendship remaining until this day unbroken except by death.

In the spring of 1863 Killeen was employed by Reynolds to rig the "Diamond Jo," then just off the stocks, at the completion of which duty he went back to the Minnesota Packet Company as deck hand for the remainder of the season. In 1864 he served in the same capacity on the "Key City" and "Itasca," in 1865 on the "Northern Light," and in 1866 on the "Northern Light" until she sank in Coon Slough, then on the "Milwaukee" a short time. In September, 1866, he went to work for John Robson of Winona, Minn., as mate of the "Imperial." He worked for Robson during the seasons of 1866-70 inclusive, the last two seasons as captain on the "Tiber" and the "Imperial," having received his master's certificate in his twenty-fifth year. In 1868 Reynolds bought

of Reynolds in all that pertained to the practical administration of steamboat affairs, we are indebted for such

back the "Diamond Jo" and barges that he had sold to the Minnesota Packet Company in 1863. Reynolds ran her a part of the season as captain — the only time he ever personally commanded one of his boats. He had Captain Killeen for his mate, and probably as his mentor, although this does not appear in history. The "Diamond Jo" soon laid up for repairs and Captain Killeen became mate of the "Bannock City," of which Capt. Jerry Wood was master. In 1872 he was mate on the "Lady Pike," a chartered boat, but went back to Robson in the latter part of the season as captain of the "Imperial," which berth he retained after Reynolds bought the boat in 1873. He was captain of the "Imperial" and the "Josie" until the close of the season of 1877, during which time, and later he spent several winters towing grain from St. Louis to New Orleans. The winters of 1879 and 1880 were spent in this trade with the "Imperial" and the "Josie" with nine barges. Fred A. Bill was clerk with him at this time. He was captain of the "Libbie Conger," 1878, 1879; of the "Mary Morton," 1880, 1881; of the "Pittsburg," 1882-93 inclusive; of the "St. Paul," (first), 1894, 1895; "Quincy," 1896 to 1902; "St. Paul," (second), 1903, 1904. From 1901 to 1912 he was general superintendent of the Diamond Jo Line, performing the duties of this responsible position much of the time while commanding one of the boats of the line, his practice being always to have some one on board with him, either pilot, mate or clerk, who had a master's certificate, so that when called away, as he often was, he could turn over the command in his absence to a properly accredited officer. This enabled him to visit from time to time every agent between St. Louis and St. Paul and keep in closer touch with all his officers than would have been possible had he remained in the office at Dubuque. His acquaintance with rivermen — pilots, engineers, captains, clerks, and others — enabled him to man his boats with the very highest class of officials to be found on the river; and the freedom of the line from accidents attests the judgment with which he picked his men. There were no fires nor explosions on the boats of the company, and there were but three unavoidable accidents from snags, these resulting in the sinking of the boats but in no loss of life. Captain Killeen was a stockholder and director in the company for many years, as well as captain and superintendent. At the age of seventy years he still is actively engaged in business that brings him in contact with the great river on which he has spent most of his life. He is one of the principal stockholders in the Dubuque Boat and Boiler Works, one of the largest and most successful of the steel-hull boat-building firms in the West today, and is president of the Dubuque Sand and Gravel Company. To sum up the life of this typical Mississippi River steamboat man in the words of another riverman of wide experience and acquaintance: "There may have been others, as good steamboat men as Captain Killeen on the upper river; there has never been a better."

details of his early life as are available for this paper. He was born in the little town of Fallsburg, New York, June 11, 1819, of Quaker parentage. He was the youngest of six children. That business men are born rather than bred, just as great artists, musicians, and orators are born, is illustrated in a story that has been handed down showing little Jo's aptitude for business at a tender age. When he was but six years of age his elder brother, Silas, took him along to the neighboring town of Ellendale to see a general militia muster, or General Training Day, as it was called. Brother "Sile" supposed, of course, that Jo, like other boys, would be captivated by the pomp and ceremony of the soldiers on parade. Silas had baked a quantity of ginger and other cakes to sell, and had displayed them upon a street stand, and began crying "Cakes for sale." Immediately the business instinct asserted itself in little Jo, and forgetting the soldiers he took up the cry of "Cakes for sale," and entered with his whole soul into the spirit of salesmanship. Another vender had a stand near that of Silas, and was endeavoring by making the most noise, to divert his custom. Seeing this little Jo changed his cry and shouted: "That man's cakes are good but these are better! good and better! good and better!" The shrill treble of the six-year-old merchant carried conviction to the crowd and the stock of cakes was soon all sold.

He received a common-school education, and when seventeen years old began business for himself, buying cattle, sheep, and hogs, which he butchered, peddling the meat from a wagon through the neighboring towns and among the farmers along his route. This business involved much hard work and long drives in the summer heat and dust, without corresponding returns, and often there were losses that ate up the profits. He used to tell of one such hard summer's work that left him at the close of the season just three dollars net profit. Being a very



methodical man he kept accurate accounts of all his transactions, thus enabling him to determine whether he was making or losing by his efforts. In winter he taught school in the country at ten dollars a month and his board, "boarding 'round" among the families of his pupils a week in a place as was the custom in early days. Finding that teaching and the meat business were not netting him satisfactory results, in partnership with his brother Isaac, he opened a general store in Rockland, New York, of which venture little is known. A few years later he married Mary E. Morton, of Rockland. Her father furnished the money with which to buy a custom flour-and-feed mill which under his careful management proved a paying investment. Within a few years after its purchase the mill was burned, together with a large amount of grain belonging to the firm. Not having means with which to rebuild alone Reynolds induced some of his neighbors to join with him in a sort of stock company; but when they saw him putting in the latest and most expensive machinery, with mahogany bolts and hoppers, they decided that it would never pay and protested so strongly that he and Mrs. Reynolds' father, Mr. Morton, were compelled to buy them all out and proceed alone. The new mill, when completed, was the best in all that region, drawing business from long distances and proving a great financial success. This illustrates the motto that always governed Reynolds' efforts throughout his career, that "anything that is worth doing at all is worth doing well." Later he formed a partnership with an old school-mate and bought a tannery situated near the mill, remodeled it along the latest lines of efficiency, and commenced the manufacture of oak-tanned sole leather. This business also proved very profitable, and after a few years he received such a good offer that he sold all his interests in Rockland and came west, locating in Chicago, and in connection with a partner establishing a tannery on West



Water Street. This must have been about, or previous to, the year 1856. He traveled extensively throughout Wisconsin and Minnesota, buying hides and furs for the Chicago tannery. In this connection a recent writer<sup>2</sup> relates the following story, probably apocryphal, of Reynolds and the late Philip Armour, another commercial giant of the West:

It may not be true, but it is related that Joseph Reynolds and the late Phil. Armour, after coming West engaged in the same business of buying hides and furs along the river towns. That was before his steamboat days. As the story goes it appears that both had at the same time an overstock of hides for the market, and they agreed to play the then popular game of cards, "California Jack," the winner to buy out the loser, and Reynolds won. The market soon after rallied and he made good money on the deal.

There has always been more or less speculation as to the origin of the title "Diamond Jo," as applied to Reynolds from the time he came on the river in 1860, the popular conclusion being that it was derived from the fact that he wore, in later years, in his shirt-front or in his scarf, a very valuable diamond. This theory was so reasonable that it was generally accepted as correct. However, this was an error. When Reynolds first came on the river he had other uses for the thousand dollars represented by the sparkling piece of carbon. It was only after his energy and enterprise had netted him a handsome fortune that he ventured to gratify his taste in the direction of personal adornment. Capt. Fred A.

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<sup>2</sup> John Deery, in *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald*, 1911. John Deery is an old resident of Dubuque, and a leading member of the bar. He has always taken great interest in everything connected with the Mississippi River and has written many valuable papers concerning its commerce, particularly those matters more intimately concerning Dubuque. He was one of the delegates representing the state of Iowa to accompany President Roosevelt to Memphis on the Waterways Excursion down the river in 1907, and was chairman of the delegation on the deep-waterways journey to the Gulf with President Taft in 1909.

Bill,<sup>3</sup> who for many years was connected with the Diamond Jo Line, and who was intimately acquainted with Reynolds, has undoubtedly given the correct answer to this question. In a letter to the Burlington *Saturday Evening Post*, in June, 1912, he says:

In shipping the hides and furs purchased on his trips through the Northwest it was his [Reynolds'] custom to mark the packages "J. Reynolds, Chicago, Ill." It seems that there

<sup>3</sup> Capt. Fred A. Bill, to whom the writer is greatly indebted for assistance in preparing this paper, is a son of Capt. E. C. Bill, the well-known steamboat builder and master, who lived at Read's Landing, Minn., in the sixties. He was born in Harts Grove, Ashtabula Co., Ohio, Aug. 12, 1850. He received a common-school education and came West as a boy. His first venture on the river was as clerk on his father's towboat, the "Buckeye," from 1868 to 1871. During the season of 1870 the "Buckeye" was employed in handling material for the big Chicago and Northwestern Railway bridge at Winona, Minn. In 1872 he was clerk of the "Dakota," Capt. Jerry Webber, on Red River of the North, between Moorhead, Minn., and Fort Garry, Manitoba, now the city of Winnipeg. Returning to the Mississippi he entered the service of the Diamond Jo Line in the spring of 1873 as clerk of the "Imperial," Capt. John Killeen, with whom he served during the seasons of 1873, 1874, and on the "Josie" during the seasons of 1875, 1876, and 1877. While thus employed as clerk he made such good use of his faculties, and gained such experience in handling a steamboat, that he was able to pass a satisfactory examination and was granted a master's certificate in 1876, at the age of twenty-six years. During the next four years he served as clerk or master on different boats of the line. In the winters of 1879 and 1880 he was clerk of the "Josie" and the "Imperial" with Captain Killeen in the lower river trade, towing grain, with nine bulk barges, between St. Louis and New Orleans. He had been transferred in 1880 to the general offices at Dubuque as chief clerk, and later was appointed general freight and passenger agent of the line. He was a stockholder and director in the company in 1884, and for several years after leaving its service. In 1893 he was sent to the Hot Springs Railroad, at Hot Springs, Ark., in the interest of the Reynolds estate, which owned that property, as well as a controlling interest in the Diamond Jo Line. Here he served for nine years as auditor and local treasurer, general passenger and freight agent, and manager, remaining with the railroad company until the sale of the line to the Choctaw, Oklahoma & Gulf Railroad Company in 1902, making a period of twenty-eight years of continuous service, much of the time in positions of great responsibility. Captain Bill is now located at Minneapolis, where he is engaged in the lumber business, and is also an officer in the Minneapolis & Rainy River Railway Company.

was another J. Reynolds in the same business in Chicago, and their shipments frequently became mixed. Mr. Reynolds then conceived the idea of establishing a sort of trade mark, and his next consignment was marked with his nickname, "Jo," with marks around it shaped like a diamond, thus [] and ever after he was known as Diamond "Jo" — and you will note that there is no period after the "Jo" when correctly written.

About the year 1860 Reynolds disposed of his Chicago business and engaged in the grain trade exclusively, with headquarters at Prairie du Chien, at which point transshipment was made from steamboat to the Milwaukee & Mississippi Railroad. The Minnesota Packet Company was paramount on the upper river between Galena and St. Paul. Some of its stockholders were interested also in the railway company, and were also engaged in buying grain. Their connection with both steamboat and railroad enabled them to obtain favors not accorded to others who were considered "outsiders," of whom Reynolds was one. His grain would be refused by the boat line while that of his rivals would be taken, often subjecting him to loss by the elements at the point of shipment, and to pecuniary losses through failure to deliver his grain upon a favorable market. To avoid at least some of the annoyances and delays to which he was subjected by the Packet Company, and to provide adequate transportation for his rapidly growing business, Reynolds, in the spring of 1862, built the steamboat "Lansing,"<sup>4</sup> a stern-wheel boat of 123 tons. This he placed

<sup>4</sup>In a letter to the writer dated Lansing, Ia., Feb. 3, 1910, Mrs. Martha S. Hemmenway says in this connection: "We were honored in 1862 by having a steamboat named for our town. The 'Lansing' was built, and owned by Joseph Reynolds, of Diamond Jo fame, and was commanded by Capt. Joseph Wilcox. Captain Fleming was captain of Reynolds' second boat, the 'Diamond Jo.' In company with Captain Fleming's daughter I was on the 'Diamond Jo' when she made her trial trip in the spring of 1863." Mrs. Hemmenway was the daughter of John Haney, who with H. H. Houghton, founder, and at the time editor of the Galena (Ill.) *Gazette*, were the founders of the city of Lansing, in April, 1848. Mrs. Hemmenway, with her mother and a little sister, arrived at

under the command of Capt. J. B. Wilcox of Desoto, Wisconsin, an experienced steamboat man, and ran her between Lansing and Prairie du Chien, carrying all his own grain and produce, and handling such other freight as was not directly controlled by the Packet Company, through the Milwaukee & Mississippi Railway Company, at Prairie du Chien. Fearing that this small venture might lead to a competition detrimental to its business, the Packet Company prevailed upon Reynolds to sell them the "Lansing," promising in return to care for his business in a satisfactory manner.<sup>5</sup> Before the season ended, however, he found that the company had no intention of living up to the promises made him, and his business was suffering from neglect and discrimination. Like the old farmer in the fable, finding that the clods of compromise and concession were unavailing to secure an even chance with his rivals in business, he decided again to resort to the weapons to which the Packet Company was amenable. In the winter of 1862-63 he built, at Woodman, Wisconsin, on the Wisconsin River, some ten or fifteen miles from Prairie du Chien, a stern-wheel boat of 242 tons, which was named "Diamond Jo."<sup>6</sup> She was

the site of the future city, Oct. 14, 1848. Two weeks after their arrival the last boat of the season passed down the river, the crew shouting a good-by to the little group of pioneers standing at the landing, the family consisting of Mr. and Mrs. Haney, their son James, and the two little girls.

<sup>5</sup> The "Lansing," after her sale to the Minnesota Packet Company, was run as a low-water boat by that company and its successor, the Northwestern Union Packet Company, between La Crosse and St. Paul. Capt. William L. Ewing was master in 1864. She was temporarily in the Minnesota River trade in 1865, and again in 1866. In the fall of the latter year she was sold to Rambo & Son, of LeClaire, Ia., and in the spring of 1867 began making daily trips between LeClaire and Davenport. On May 13, 1867, while lying at the bank of Hampton, Ill., one of her boilers exploded, killing the pilot, Robert Smith of LeClaire, and Van Dyke, the clerk, whose body was blown across the river, landing on the Iowa side. The "Lansing" was rebuilt at Dubuque, and was still in service in 1869.

<sup>6</sup> The "Diamond Jo," named for her owner, was placed in commission in the spring of 1863, under command of Capt. William Fleming, of Lansing, Ia., but before the close of the season was sold to the Minnesota

said to have been built from a model made by Capt. Hudson Porter,<sup>7</sup> who was foreman of the construction crew. Charles W. Cowles of McGregor, Iowa, a stepson of Capt. William Fleming, had the general supervision of the work, buying the material and paying the workmen, and when the boat came out in the spring of 1863 he was appointed clerk, with Capt. William Fleming master. Two barges for bulk grain, the "Conger" and the "Fleming," were also built and placed in commission.

The old Minnesota Packet Company was reorganized in February, 1864, and incorporated under the laws of Iowa, with a cash capital of \$400,000 under the name of "The Northwestern Packet Company." This company entered into a contract to maintain a daily line of boats from Prairie du Chien, and to carry all freight and passengers from the Milwaukee & Prairie du Chien Railway to St. Paul and intermediate ports. The officers of the reorganized company were John Lawler of Prairie du Chien, president; George A. Blanchard of Dubuque, secretary and treasurer, and William E. Wellington of Dubuque, superintendent. The new company was anxious to protect its monopoly of the Prairie du Chien business, and by promises and guarantees induced Reynolds to sell the "Diamond Jo" and barges, and for the second time retire from the transportation business. The new company honorably fulfilled the terms of its agreement,

Packet Company, and ran in that line until 1868, when she was bought back by Reynolds. She was snagged and sunk at State Line, above Dunleith, in 1869, but was soon raised and taken to the shipyard at Dubuque and repaired. She ran in the Diamond Jo Line until 1878, when she was dismantled at Dubuque and her machinery placed in the new boat "Josephine." During her years of service she was commanded at different times by William Fleming, J. B. Wilcox, Benjamin A. Conger, and others.

<sup>7</sup> Capt. Hudson Porter was born at Jacob's Creek, Pa., Dec. 9, 1828. He came west in 1862 and located at Prairie du Chien, where he worked as a ship carpenter. In 1876 he removed to Dubuque and was employed in the shipyard of the Diamond Jo Company. He died at his home in Dubuque, Feb. 16, 1913.



and for three seasons satisfactorily cared for all his business.

On May 1, 1866, the White Collar Line — W. F. Davidson's La Crosse & St. Paul Packet Company — and the Northwestern Line were consolidated under the name "Northwestern Union Packet Company," with William F. Davidson of St. Paul, president; John Lawler of Prairie du Chien, general manager; George A. Blanchard of Dubuque, secretary; William H. Rhodes of St. Paul, treasurer, and William E. Wellington of Dubuque and Peyton S. Davidson of La Crosse, superintendents. Through this combination, or rather consolidation, William F. Davidson became the ruling factor on the river between Dubuque and St. Paul. There were stockholders in the new company engaged in grain-buying, and they were able, through their connection with the line, to control the situation at the railroad terminals at La Crosse and Prairie du Chien, and to embarrass Reynolds so much that he found he must secure other river transportation and railroad connections or go out of business. It is very unlikely that he considered the latter alternative to any great extent. Instead, he bought, in 1867, the twin-screw propeller "John C. Gault"<sup>s</sup> and some barges, and for the third time engaged in steamboating on his own account. The "Gault," a small boat, was used that season to tow barges to Prairie du Chien.

<sup>s</sup> The "John C. Gault" was 92 feet long, 17 feet beam, 5.2 feet hold, 61.52 tons, built at Savanna, Ill., in 1866. She was of a type of boat not often seen on the Mississippi, and one not likely to become popular until all the old-time rivermen are dead, at least. Unlike a paddle-wheel boat, which, if it picks up a rock or snag and tears out half a dozen buckets, can be repaired by the carpenter and the engineer in a short time, if a propeller hits a snag or rock it is usually smashed or torn off, rendering the boat helpless until it has been docked and a new propeller fitted. In addition the sand is always cutting out the "sleeve" where the shaft comes through the deadwood at the stern, causing constant leaking. The "Gault" was sold in 1872 to New Orleans parties, and was last reported as running on Lake Pontchartrain, in 1884, hailing from New Orleans. J. B. Wilcox was master in 1868.



Negotiating with the Chicago & Northwestern Railway, Reynolds was able to enter into an agreement with that road to operate from its terminus on the river at Fulton, Illinois, and in 1868 he first began to operate a steamboat line, which he called the Chicago, Fulton & River Line, with four boats — the "John C. Gault," the "Ida Fulton,"<sup>9</sup> the "Diamond Jo," which he bought back from the Minnesota Packet Company, and a chartered boat, the "Lady Pike."<sup>10</sup> Capt. W. G. Wood was appointed superintendent and general manager and took care of the business of the line. William H. Simpson was hired by the year as clerk, to serve on board any boats to which he might be assigned by the superintendent. The "Bannock City"<sup>11</sup> was chartered in 1871 to

<sup>9</sup> The "Ida Fulton" was a stern-wheel passenger and freight boat of 284.27 tons, built at Cincinnati in 1864. She was bought by the Diamond Jo Line on the Ohio in 1868. At that time Captain Bisbee was master, George Lewis, chief engineer, and George Diley, assistant. She was in the line until 1875 or 1876, being then sold to Capt. Charles H. Meeds of Stillwater, Minn., and largely used in towing wheat barges. She was dismantled at Dubuque in 1885 by Captain Meeds, and her machinery placed in the steamer "Glenmont," built for him. Besides Captain Bisbee she was commanded at different times by Capt. Anthony Sheets, in 1873, and Thomas Cushing in 1874. Fred A. Bill was clerk in 1874, with Captain Cushing.

<sup>10</sup> The "Lady Pike" was a fine stern-wheel passenger and freight packet of 404.05 tons, built at Cincinnati in 1860. She was in government service as a transport during the war, under command of Capt. William Walker. Gov. Louis P. Harvey of Wisconsin was drowned at Pittsburg Landing, Tenn., a few days after the battle of Shiloh by falling between two steamboats while attempting to step from one to the other. His body was found by a negro and some white boys fifteen days later, sixty miles down the river, and Captain Walker of the "Lady Pike" proceeded to that point and reclaimed the body. The "Lady Pike" was chartered by the Diamond Jo Line in 1870 from Henry Lowery of Dubuque. Capt. J. B. Wilcox was master while in this service, and perhaps others.

<sup>11</sup> The "Bannock City," a small stern-wheel freight and passenger packet of 150.22 tons, built at LeClaire, Ia., 1865, and owned by Capt. Jerry Wood and Capt. Alexander Lamont, was running out of Galena in 1867, with M. S. Allen, clerk. She was chartered by the Diamond Jo Line in 1871, and commanded by Capt. Jerry Wood while running in the line. She was finally sunk at Madison, Ind.

take care of the rapidly increasing business, and provide transportation for the freight from the railroad, which the firm was bound to take care of. The title of the line was changed to that of "Diamond Jo Line Steamers," headquarters and general offices were opened at Fulton, and an attempt at regularity of service between that point and St. Paul was made. The business prospered to such an extent that it was found necessary to increase the efficiency of the fleet. In 1872 the "John C. Gault," which was altogether unfitted for package freight traffic, was sold, and two larger and better boats, the "Arkansas"<sup>12</sup> and the "Tidal Wave,"<sup>13</sup> were bought at New Orleans, while in 1873 the "Imperial,"<sup>14</sup> and a number of additional barges were bought from John Robson of Winona. In order to take care of the Chippewa River trade, which, prior to the completion of the West Wisconsin Railway to Eau Claire in midsummer, 1870, was

<sup>12</sup> The "Arkansas" was a stern-wheel passenger and freight packet of 549.21 tons, and 256 horse power, built at Pittsburgh in 1868. She was in the line until 1878, used much of the time as a towboat, her power enabling her to handle from four to eight barges with ease and safety. Capt. J. B. Wilcox commanded her for a time. She was sold to P. S. Davidson in 1878 and taken to the Missouri River, and was sunk by ice at St. Louis a year or two later, with total loss to Mr. Davidson.

<sup>13</sup> The "Tidal Wave" was a stern-wheel boat for passengers and freight, of 476.09 tons. Capt. M. Mitchell was master in 1873 and Jesse D. Mefford, pilot. She ran in the line until 1878, when she was sold, together with two barges, the "Jerry" and the "Jeanette," to Capt. P. S. Davidson, who took her to the Missouri River, where she ran for three seasons. She was then brought back to the Mississippi, and in 1881 was rebuilt at La Crosse, and rechristened "Grand Pacific."

<sup>14</sup> The "Imperial" was a stern-wheel towboat of 222.41 tons, built for the trade around Pittsburgh and on the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers. She had no accommodations for passengers and no freight capacity. She was very low between-decks, and an ordinary man could not stand upright in her staterooms. Capt. Fred Bill was clerk on her part of the season of 1873. He is a very tall man, and when he went into the office he had to shorten the legs of the office stool to prevent his head hitting the roof carlines. Capt. John Killeen was master, 1873-74. She was sold to Leyhe Brothers & Eagle Packet Company of St. Louis in the winter of 1880, and was dismantled at that port soon after.

an item well worth competing for, an arrangement had been made with Capt. Edward Campbell, of Durand, Wisconsin, by which the "Jeanette Roberts"<sup>15</sup> was to run in connection with the Line from Read's Landing, Minnesota. This proved a very satisfactory arrangement to both of the contracting parties, but met with great disfavor from the owners of other boats plying on the Chippewa, who protested strongly against the practice of holding freight discharged from the Line boats at Read's Landing until the arrival of the "Roberts," while their own boats were lying at the levee ready to start when the freight was landed. At that time the only point on the river above Fulton reached by the Chicago & Northwestern Railroad was Winona, where the bridge connecting the La Crosse Division on the Wisconsin shore with the Winona & St. Peter Division at Winona had been completed in January, 1871.<sup>16</sup>

Of the situation in 1873, following these changes, Captain Bill says:

The arrangement made by Mr. Reynolds with the Chicago & Northwestern had proved a very good one for both parties.

<sup>15</sup> The "Jeanette Roberts" was a stern-wheel packet of 145.83 tons, built at Rock Island, Ill., in 1857, by Capt. Louis Robert, and named for his daughter, with the English spelling, "Roberts," instead of the French form, "Robert." She was built for the Minnesota River trade, where she ran from 1857 to 1859 under command of her owner, Capt. Louis Robert, and from 1860 to 1863 under command of Capt. F. Aymond. She was in the Chippewa River trade in 1868, 1869, and 1870, Capt. Edward Campbell, owner; Capt. Chet Hall was master in 1870, with Sam Murray, clerk. She was dismantled at Durand, Wis., in the late summer of 1870 and her machinery placed in a new boat, the "Frank Forest," also owned by Captain Campbell.

<sup>16</sup> This bridge had first been completed in May, 1870, but while being tested with a train loaded with stone the long central span gave way, precipitating the loaded cars into the river, fifty feet below, the engine alone, owing to the breaking of a coupling, remaining on the track. Five painters working on the bridge were also thrown into the river but, strangely enough, all were rescued by the timely aid of boats provided through the foresight of Capt. Samuel D. Van Gorder of Winona, who appears to have had his doubts regarding the stability of the structure.

The railroad got all his grain and he got all the merchandise the road could secure for points on the run. A number of barges were constructed and other boats bought until in 1873 the fleet consisted of the "Tidal Wave," "Arkansas," "Diamond Jo," "Ida Fulton," and "Imperial," with probably some twenty barges. The four first-named boats comprised the regular line; the "Imperial" was a very powerful towboat that was used during the spring and fall rush of grain. She was known as the "little whale," and frequently handled eight barges of bulk grain, which, with the deck load of sacked grain carried in times of good water, often reached as high as 100,000 bushels. Practically all the grain belonging to Mr. Reynolds, amounting to many millions of bushels a year, passed through the elevator at Fulton built by the Chicago & Northwestern Railway.

One may get a better conception of what a cargo of 100,000 bushels of wheat means by reducing it to the terms of railroad transportation as it then existed. In those days a carload of wheat was 400 bushels. Dividing this into 100,000 gives 250 carloads. The standard engines of that date could not handle to exceed twenty-five cars. This would give ten trains of twenty-five cars, with ten engines and ten train crews to handle them. Figuring the cars and engines at thirty feet long each, and the ten cabooses at twenty-four feet each, gives a total of 8,400 feet of train — over a mile and a half. This comparison illustrates the economy of river over railway transportation. The increased efficiency of locomotives, cars, and roadbed in these later days is fully met by the increased efficiency of modern river steamboats. The towboat "Sprague," for instance, on the Ohio, with 3,750 horse power, can handle a tow of coalboats covering over seven acres, and drawing ten feet of water. When the upper river gets a six-foot channel from St. Paul to St. Louis the produce of the Northwest will go to the sea by way of New Orleans, and at one-half the rate it now costs to transport it by way of New York or other Atlantic ports.

The nickname of "little whale" as applied to the "Imperial" related only to her ability to handle great tows of barges. When divorced from the tranquilizing influences of half a dozen barges she might better have been termed a flying fish. I have the word of one pilot who handled her several seasons that when light, with a full head of steam, it was almost impossible to keep her in the river, even with two men at the wheel; and even then, with all precautions, she would run away from a reef and never stop until she hit the bank. Little traits like this served to liven a pilot's watch and helped him to earn his salary. In this connection it may be said that to the rivermen every boat had a distinct personality, certainly as marked as in the case of different horses. The pilots and engineers went further than this, and compared their differing characteristics to those of different individuals, as if their perversities were the result of a reasoned purpose.

The year 1874 witnessed a number of important changes in the Diamond Jo Company. Reynolds had made his home in McGregor, Iowa, from the time he left Chicago and entered the business arena on the Mississippi. This may have had something to do with the removal of the general offices of the company from Fulton to Dubuque. The fact that the company established a large shipyard at Eagle Point, three miles above the city, probably was another great factor. The greater facility in getting back and forth between Dubuque and McGregor than was possible when the offices were at Fulton undoubtedly had weight with Reynolds; and the great advantage resulting from the location in a larger city no doubt had weight from a business point of view. The increasing volume of business demanded an additional clerical force in the general offices at Dubuque, and William H. Simpson,<sup>17</sup> who had been clerk on a number of

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<sup>17</sup> William H. Simpson was born in Philadelphia, Aug. 9, 1846, and



boats of the line since 1869, was transferred to the office as bookkeeper. The shipyard proved a great success. Not only were the new boats required by the line built here, and all repairs made, but many of the finest wood-hulled raftboats were also built. The twenty years between 1875 and 1895 witnessed the greatest activity in the lumber business ever known on the Mississippi, or any other river, or in any country or age. It gave employment to hundreds of steamboats used in towing the logs and lumber to market, and to thousands of men who constituted their crews. The repairs constantly required by these boats, and the new craft necessary to fill the gaps made by worn-out or disabled boats, kept the yard constantly employed, with a force at times reaching as high as eighty skilled mechanics. In addition to the boat-builders a crew of expert divers with all necessary gear, with barges, pumps, and other machinery and rigging for raising sunken vessels, was likewise maintained, ready at an hour's notice to proceed to the relief of any boat in trouble, anywhere between St. Louis and St. Paul. In this work Captain, or General Superintendent Killeen was an expert; and the record of his service for the company stamps him as the peer of any man on the river in this particular line of work.

While the headquarters of the line had been transferred to Dubuque, the run still continued to be from Fulton to St. Paul, with four boats handling the regular

was educated in the public schools of Johnstown, Pa., to which place his parents removed in 1852. Having come west as a youth in April, 1867, he was appointed second clerk of the "Key City," by the Minnesota Packet Company. Later, after the reorganization of the companies, he was on the "Phil. Sheridan" and "Annie Johnston." He began work on the Diamond Jo Line Steamers as clerk in 1869, remaining with the company as clerk on different boats of the line, and as bookkeeper in the general offices at Dubuque, until 1877. In May, 1877, he went to work for James J. Hill of St. Paul, and was appointed agent for the Northwestern Fuel Company, at Milwaukee, with which company he is still connected as resident director. He is living (1915) in Milwaukee, where he is a member of the city council.



business under an eight-day schedule — not a very fast run, but as each boat towed from two to four barges loaded with package freight up and grain and flour down it was a very good service. The "Imperial" was kept in reserve to clean up any overplus of grain. In 1875 the "Josie"<sup>18</sup> was bought at St. Louis and placed in the line as a freight and towboat, with Capt. John Killeen as master and Fred A. Bill, clerk. She was also in service with the same officers in 1876. During the season of 1877 the water became very low and most of the boats were laid up. The "Josie" was kept in commission as long as possible, with John Killeen, master, and E. M. Dickey, clerk, Mr. Bill having gone on the "Buckeye" with his father, Capt. E. C. Bill of Read's Landing, for the season. The "Josie" was laid up about midsummer and her crew transferred to the "Jim Watson,"<sup>19</sup> chartered from McDonald Brothers of La Crosse, which was used during the remainder of the season in towing grain from Lake Pepin ports to Eastmoor, the terminus of the Green Bay & Mississippi Railroad, on the Wisconsin side of the river three miles below Winona. An additional boat, the "John M. Chambers,"<sup>20</sup> had been chartered during the season of 1876 to take care of the busi-

<sup>18</sup> The "Josie" was a very powerful stern-wheel boat, built at Madison, Ind., in 1873; 146.2 feet long, 28.6 feet beam and 4.8 feet hold, of 237.57 tons. She was used largely as a towboat, her great power enabling her to handle as many as eight barges with safety, while her limited passenger accommodations unfitted her for passenger traffic. She was sold to Leyhe Brothers' Eagle Packet Company of St. Louis, in 1880. In 1901 she was engaged in towing hardwood logs and lumber from lower river points to St. Louis. She was snagged and sunk on the lower river some years later.

<sup>19</sup> The "Jim Watson" was a light-draft, stern-wheel boat of 107.42 tons, built at Belle Vernon, Pa., 1858, owned by McDonald Brothers of La Crosse, and used by them in the rafting business. In 1882 they sold her to George Harrall and W. H. Womacks, of Illinois City, Ill., who ran her in the rafting trade for several years longer.

<sup>20</sup> The "John M. Chambers" was a stern-wheel freight and passenger boat, built at Mound City, Ill., in 1875; 250.96 tons. Capt. Alexander Lamont was master while in the service of the Diamond Jo Line.

ness the regular boats were unable to handle. In 1878 the "Libbie Conger"<sup>21</sup> was launched from the Eagle Point shipyard, the first boat to be built for the company at its new plant. She was placed in commission, Sept. 1, 1878, the crew of the "Josie" being transferred to her. Her first trip was a memorable one, as shown by the following extracts from the log kept by one of the officers:

Left Dubuque at 8:00, P. M., September 1, 1878; arrived at Stillwater, Minnesota, September 9th, at 8:15, P. M.; left Stillwater on the 10th at 8:20, A. M., and arrived at Dubuque on the 16th at 9:50, P. M. Went to Stillwater on account of water being too low to permit going to St. Paul. The cause of the long trip — I guess the longest on record — was low water. We were aground everywhere there was a chance, and through no fault of the pilots, for we always pulled over the bars in the best water.

The "Diamond Jo" had been dismantled this year and her machinery placed in a new boat, the "Josephine,"<sup>22</sup> built in the company's shipyard at Dubuque,

<sup>21</sup> The "Libbie Conger," named for the daughter of John P. Conger, superintendent of the Hot Springs Railroad Company, was a stern-wheel boat of 324.09 tons, 168 feet long, 29.5 beam, and 4.5 feet hold. She had the engines of the "Fanny Harris," one of the old Minnesota Packet Company's boats, sunk opposite Point Douglass, Minn., in 1863, which had worn out two other boats, the "Keithsburg" and the "Josie." The writer of this sketch handled these engines on the "Fanny Harris" in the fifties. Capt. John Killeen was master of the "Conger," 1878, 1879, and 1880, with Fred A. Bill, clerk. She was sold to Capt. J. Richtman in 1892, and used in government contract work, with Captain "Dick" Talbott in command. On May 27, 1896, while lying at the foot of Biddle Street, St. Louis, she was struck by the cyclone that visited the city on that date, torn from her moorings, and her upper works wrecked. Capt. Dan Hall, now of Trufant, Mich., watchman on the steamer "Pittsburg," who was on shore at the time, writes that he saw her break through the bridge and float off down the river. When about a mile below the bridge she was seen by Capt. James Boland of the "Pittsburg" to go down head first in deep water. The location of the wreck is not known to this day, so far as I have ever heard. Her captain, his wife, and their two children were on board at the time, and all were lost.

<sup>22</sup> The "Josephine" was named for the wife of L. D. Richardson of Chicago, a close friend and business associate of Reynolds. Richardson

and two of the older boats, the "Arkansas" and the "Tidal Wave," were sold to the Peyton S. Davidson Company, and taken to the Missouri River for service.

During the year 1879 the operations of the line were extended to St. Louis. The following clipping from an up-river paper, under the caption "Diamond Jo Line of Steamers," says:

This popular line of steamers will be extended to St. Louis this season. The steamers "Josephine" and "Libbie Conger" will run between St. Louis and Fulton, making eight-day trips and connecting there with the steamers "Ida Fulton" and "Josie" for St. Paul. The "Imperial" will run between Rock Island and St. Paul, thus giving the upper end of the river three boats in eight days.

The year 1880 witnessed a number of changes which affected in a marked degree the steamboat service on the upper river. The great Keokuk Northern Line Packet Company, with a capitalization of \$750,000, of which "Commodore" William F. Davidson was president, was thrown into bankruptcy by internal dissensions. In the spring of 1881 Captain Davidson formed a new company, with a capital stock of \$100,000; he bought some of the best boats of the defunct organization, and with eight boats attempted to cover the river above St. Louis, running a daily line to Keokuk, and a semi-weekly line to St. Paul. His brother, Peyton S. Davidson, with S. F. Clinton and Lafayette Holmes, all of La Crosse, Wisconsin, organized still another company under the laws of Wisconsin, and with six boats also entered the St. Louis and St. Paul trade. Under these conditions the Diamond Jo Line began to pay more attention to passenger business. In the meantime the Chicago & Northwestern Railway having reached many of the upper river ports with its own lines, the arrangement between that com-

was for a time superintendent of the Hot Springs Railroad. The "Josephine" was 155 feet long, 28.8 feet beam, 4.8 feet hold; 240.77 tons; stern-wheel; was dismantled at Dubuque, 1886.

pany and the Diamond Jo Line was at least partially cancelled, and a somewhat similar agreement entered into with the Illinois Central Railroad, whereby the grain business of Reynolds was to pass through its elevator at East Dubuque (formerly Dunleith), and in a short time Fulton became a minor port of call.

In addition to his river business Reynolds was interested in another company buying grain at some twenty-five or more stations on the Illinois Central lines in Iowa, Minnesota, and South Dakota, and as a result the relations with this road soon became as close as those formerly existing with the Chicago & Northwestern. The partial collapse of the Davidson lines from St. Louis presented a very tempting opening, of which the Diamond Jo people were not slow to avail themselves. As stated, they had already begun to pay more attention to the passenger traffic. This policy was rendered all the more inviting, if not essential, from the fact that the grain trade was more and more diverted to the railroads that were now tapping the sources of supply, not only on the river itself, but the country lying back from the river. In pursuance of this changing policy the company built a large and fine stern-wheel passenger boat, the "Mary Morton,"<sup>23</sup> named for Reynolds' wife, and the run was extended to St. Louis. The "Sidney,"<sup>24</sup> another large stern-wheeler, was bought on the Ohio and placed on the St. Louis run, and two of the older and smaller freight

<sup>23</sup> The "Mary Morton" was built at Dubuque in 1880; 210 feet long, 32.5 feet beam, 5.6 feet hold; 456.96 tons. John Killeen, master, 1880, 1881; William Boland, 1882 to (?). Sunk below Clarksville, Mo., Sept. 10, 1892; raised by Supt. John Killeen and in dry-dock at Dubuque within eighteen days after sinking. Sold to St. Louis parties in 1895; snagged and sunk below Grand Tower, Ill., in 1896, with total loss.

<sup>24</sup> The "Sidney" was built by the Lists Boatbuilding Company, Wheeling, W. Va., in 1880, and bought by the Diamond Jo Company the same year; 617.88 tons. L. H. Cubberly was master in 1892. Was remodeled into an excursion boat in 1912. Was transferred to the Streckfus Steamboat Company when the Line was sold in 1911.

boats, the "Josie" and the "Libbie Conger" were sold. In 1881 still another big stern-wheeler, the "Pittsburg,"<sup>25</sup> was bought on the Ohio and added to the St. Louis line in active competition with the Davidson lines. From 1881 to 1886 the line consisted of four boats—the "Josephine," "Mary Morton," "Sidney," and "Pittsburg"—the "Josephine" being more of a freight and towboat than a passenger packet. In the meantime, in 1883, the line had been incorporated as the Diamond Jo Line of Steamers, with a capital of \$300,000, and two of its trusted employees, E. M. Dickey and Capt. John Killeen, became stockholders. Reynolds was elected president; E. M. Dickey was elected secretary and treasurer, and was appointed general freight and passenger agent; Captain Killeen was appointed superintendent of construction, which position he held until 1891, when, after the death of Reynolds, he was elected vice-president, and appointed general superintendent. Owing to the rapid increase in the business of the company the division of labor and responsibility thus assigned was found to be too great to be properly handled by the three directors, and at the annual meeting in 1884 two additional employees, Capt. Fred A. Bill and Isaac P. Lusk,<sup>26</sup> were given an oppor-

<sup>25</sup> The "Pittsburg" was built at Cincinnati in 1879; 250 feet long, 39.2 feet beam, 5.8 feet hold; 722.14 tons; bought by Diamond Jo Line, 1881; given a new hull in 1895; wrecked in cyclone at St. Louis, May 27, 1896; rebuilt at Dubuque, 1898, and rechristened "Dubuque." John Killeen was master from 1882 to 1893 inclusive. James Boland was master in 1896, when wrecked.

<sup>26</sup> Isaac P. Lusk was born at Albany, Ill., Nov. 5, 1856. His early education was obtained in the public schools of Albany, and later in the Winona, Minn., High School and Northwestern University at Evanston, Ill. Having been born and raised on the banks of the Mississippi it was the natural thing to do to find employment on the river, beginning as second clerk, and soon after being promoted to the charge of a steamboat office. He continued work for the Diamond Jo Line Steamers in 1873 as chief clerk, which position he held on various boats of the company until 1883, at which time he became a stockholder in the company. In 1884 he was elected director and was appointed general agent at St. Louis. At the annual meeting held Mar. 19, 1891, following the death of Reynolds,



tunity to become stockholders, and the directorate was increased to five. Reynolds was elected president; E. M. Dickey, secretary and treasurer; John Killeen, superintendent of construction; Fred A. Bill was appointed general passenger and freight agent, with general offices at Dubuque, and Isaac P. Lusk, general agent at St. Louis. This organization continued without change until the death of Reynolds in 1891. The business of the line was gradually changing, and as the grain trade dropped off the passenger and package-freight business increased.

Coincident with this change in the character of the traffic—from the grain trade to passenger service—though not directly related as to cause and effect, there was a marked change in the character of the deck crews—roustabouts—of the several boats. Heretofore the deck crews had been composed of white men. Many of these were hard-working, sober, and industrious men, intent only upon earning a living. In the main, however, these specifications would not apply. Many, or most, of the roustabouts were drunken, dissolute, quarrelsome ruffians, who gave the officers a great deal of trouble, and to control whom required, in particular, mates of strong character and undoubted courage, whose methods were not always the most refined, or even humane, but which were always effective. The work of the roustabout was hard; and the fact that the officers were generally better equipped with strength and courage than they were with patience in no way tended to lighten his labors. It followed that the good men who wanted to

Lusk was appointed assistant superintendent and general agent, with headquarters at St. Louis. Mrs. Reynolds died in Aug., 1895, and at the annual meeting, Mar. 2, 1896, her brother, Jay Morton, who had succeeded to her estate, was elected president of the company, and in the consequent reorganization Lusk's duties were greatly enhanced, he being appointed general passenger and freight agent, with entire charge of the financial departments of the company, with offices in St. Louis. This position he held until the sale of the line to the Streckfus Steamboat Company in 1911. He died at his home in St. Louis in December, 1915.



work sought other fields where there was less of privation, and those of the other and less desirable class were kicked ashore by the mates, leaving an open field for the colored men, who were glad to take their places. These, though less responsible, were light-hearted and tractable, and performed the arduous tasks set for them with a blithe and jocund buoyancy of spirits that robbed the labor of much of the horror with which it had been viewed by passengers unfamiliar with river conditions and usages, when the crew was composed of sullen and desponding white men, unwillingly driven to their tasks by the urgency of the officers over them. The labor of "toting" freight thus became a comedy, greatly enjoyed by the traveling public, in place of the tragedy of former days.

That this feature of river travel in these later days takes hold of the imagination of the lady passengers is manifested in the following description of a crew of colored men at work by Miss Grace King, who has traveled the Ohio and Mississippi rivers many times:

And the roustabout throwing the rope from the perilous end of the dangling gang-plank! And the dangling roustabouts hanging like drops of water from it—dropping sometimes twenty feet to the land—dropping sometimes into the river itself to the infinite amusement of his brother roustabouts. And then when the great boat is safely "made fast," what a rolling of barrels, and shouldering of sacks, and singing of Jim Crow songs and pacing of Jim Crow steps; and black skins glistening through torn shirts, and white teeth gleaming through red lips, and laughing, and talking.

This wasn't work; it was a frolicsome spectacle not at all calculated to give the passengers the blues. It has thus come about that instead of a white crew who would not permit a "nigger" to touch a package of freight, the boats are now manned almost exclusively by colored crews of "rousters" in which a white man is unwelcome both to officers and crew.

There were never any bars on the boats of the Diamond Jo Line, and liquor-drinking by either passengers or crew was not countenanced. Reynolds himself, while not claiming to be a total abstainer, once told a reporter that it had been so long since he had had a drink of whisky that he could not remember the year when the last one was taken. He had been written up as a riverman, and therefore a hard drinker and a very profane man. This naturally, and of course. As stated, he did not drink liquor at all; and being a Quaker he did not swear. He was able to hire men who could express themselves with great compass and power in this regard when the occasion demanded more than a mere affirmation.

Reynolds had one son, Blake, born at McGregor about the year 1860. After he had finished his education he engaged with his father in various enterprises, and in the late seventies they turned their attention to gold mining in Arizona and Colorado, at first meeting with the usual experiences of "tenderfeet." They had bargained for a gold mine with a taking title, the "Del Pasco," at Congress, Arizona, with the proviso that they were to prove its value by putting their own men in to work it for a time before paying for it. This they did with the result that the mine appeared to be all that was claimed for it. The purchase price was paid, but within a very short time it was found that there was no gold at all in the workings. It had been "salted" with consummate skill while their own crew was working it, probably with the connivance of some of the men employed by the prospective purchasers, and it was, in fact, worthless. When this conclusion was reached it was at once abandoned. Reynolds was a good loser, however. He pocketed his loss, accepted it as a good joke on his apparent astuteness in making a bargain, and let it go at that. He at once cast about for a new venture, and soon after bought the Congress Mine in the same locality. Some

one said to him: "Mr. Reynolds, after losing so much in the Del Pasco I should not think you would buy another mine in the same locality."

"Well," said Jo, "when you lose anything don't you look for it where you lost it?"

The Congress was a very rich mine, and fully justified Reynolds in his decision.

In another instance Reynolds was robbed by a man whom he had befriended, and whom he trusted. A man by the name of Morrissy wired him from Leadville, Colorado, that there was a rich and promising mine there that could be bought very cheap, its owners not having funds wherewith to develop it. He immediately proceeded to Leadville, examined the property, and being satisfied that it was valuable, agreed to buy it at the purchase price of \$40,000, provided Morrissy, who was a practical miner, would stay with it as superintendent, Reynolds to put in good machinery with which to operate it, and to promise that as soon as it had paid all that he had put in he would deed to Morrissy one-fourth of the mine. The returns soon equaled the total of the investment, and true to his promise he deeded to Morrissy the one-fourth interest and left him in charge of the work. Some time after Reynolds observed that the smelter returns sent him were not numbered consecutively, and when he investigated he found that Morrissy had retained very much more than his share, the one-quarter to which he was entitled, amounting to something over \$250,000. The fact that Morrissy could neither read nor write probably hampered him in manipulating the returns. The shortage was settled without prosecution, Reynolds' Quaker antecedents discouraging, if not forbidding, an appeal to law in the settlement of personal differences. On the whole his mining ventures were very profitable. The death of his son, Blake, in 1885, had the effect of greatly abridging this line of investments.

One of the best-paying ventures of "Diamond Jo" Reynolds was the Hot Springs (Arkansas) Railroad, of which he was for a time sole owner, and into which he put his whole fortune, and, as he admitted himself, about all his nerve. Hot Springs is built about the celebrated medicinal springs that burst like a watery volcano from the top of the mountain where they are situated. In the early days the springs were only reached after an up-hill climb of twenty-two miles from the nearest railroad station at Malvern. For the benefit of his health Reynolds found it necessary to visit the springs some time in the early eighties. The stages in use between the railroad at Malvern and the springs were old and rickety, and the one in which he had taken passage broke down completely while they were yet some miles from their destination, and Reynolds and his fellow-passengers were compelled to walk the remaining distance. On arrival at the springs Reynolds remonstrated in somewhat forcible terms, to which the proprietor rejoined with a sneer: "Well, what are you goin' to do about it?"

"I'll build a railroad," said "Jo."

The stage man thought it a bluff; but Reynolds studied the proposition while taking the "cure," later calling in engineers to assist him; deciding that the chances were rather for than against success he put all his ready money into the work, hypothecating his stock in the steamboat company and in his mines. Within a few months he had completed a narrow-gauge road twenty-two miles in length from Malvern to Hot Springs, upon which he had issued no bonds, and the stock of which was practically all in his own name. Later, as the business increased and the springs became the most popular health resort on the Continent, he bonded the road and with the proceeds changed the line to a standard-gauge, with heavier steel, and its sidetracks at the top of the mountain, from that time to this, have constantly been filled with palace

cars and private coaches from all parts of the country, switched on to this, one of the best-paying twenty miles of road in the United States.

With this brief allusion to two or three of the many interests that engaged Reynolds' attention, aside from the steamboat line bearing his name, his personality ceases to be a part of this history, although for more than twenty years after his death his name was perpetuated in the line which he founded, until the final dissolution of the company and the sale of its boats and other assets.

Joseph Reynolds died at Congress, Arizona, Feb. 21, 1891, leaving an unsigned will. All of his large estate reverted to his widow, who scrupulously carried out her husband's wishes as expressed in the memorandum made in the Arizona wilderness. To each of the seven or eight men named she gave \$50,000, and in addition a large amount was set aside for the establishment of a training school for young men at Chicago. Death is a tragedy, wherever and to whomsoever it comes. It is not always dramatic. The death of Joseph Reynolds was not only tragic but it was also highly dramatic. He was in a desert place, sixty miles from the nearest railroad when the final summons came. The malady was pneumonia, and he knew that he had not the constitution to withstand a serious attack, so far from a physician and medicines. A messenger was dispatched posthaste to Prescott to telegraph for a physician and a lawyer — the latter to draw his will. Storms and washouts delayed them several days. Reynolds had been dead thirty hours when they finally reached Prescott. The disease made rapid inroads upon his strength. His breathing became stertorous and difficult, and his voice failed. He realized that his end was near. He lay in a rude shack at the mouth of the Congress Mine, from which he had taken nearly a million dollars of his wealth. With him were his



mine superintendent, Pierce, and half a dozen other employees of the mine. His whole mind was centered upon the disposition of a part of his great wealth which he wished to go to some of his trusted employees, and to an educational trust which he had long had in mind—a training school for young men of limited means. The balance would go to his wife as the only heir in any event. The fear that his strength would not hold out until these wishes had been put in form was greater than any fear of death, which seemed not greatly to concern him. He started to dictate his wishes to Pierce, and named him as one of the beneficiaries. Pierce at first refused to assume so equivocal a part; but Reynolds insisted, and a will was drawn as the dying man desired. He seized a pen to sign it, but he was too weak. The name was but a scrawl. Then summoning all his remaining strength, and almost with his last breath, he called upon those who were in the hut to witness that the unsigned paper was his last will and testament, and fell back into the arms of his friend—dead. His body lies in Mount Hope Cemetery, Chicago, beside his wife and son. His labors are ended.

As illustrating the confidence placed in Reynolds' word by his business associates, the late Philip D. Armour of Chicago, in conversation with Capt. John Killen, related the following incident that occurred in the former's private office. There had been a flurry in the money market that caused a shortage.

One day Reynolds came into the office, and Armour, surmising his errand and for the fun of anticipating his request, said at once: "Jo, can you lend me \$50,000?"

Reynolds replied: "That is just what I came to you for. I never wanted money so badly in all my life."

"How much do you want?" asked Armour.

"I want \$200,000," was the reply.

"I can let you have it," said Armour, and filled out



checks for the amount, taking Reynolds' personal notes in exchange.

Soon after Reynolds came back and threw a bundle of stock certificates on the desk, saying: "Phil, keep that until I pay back the money."

"Put that back in your safety box, Jo," said Armour. "But for the uncertainty of life your word would be enough for me. Were it not for that I would not accept your notes."

The bundle of stock certificates represented the entire value of the Hot Springs Railroad at that time.

Reynolds was something of a mechanic, and had chests of carpenter tools at several points where he thought he might have occasion to make anything needed, or do any odd job of "tinkering" that might be necessary. This tendency became so well known to his employees, both on the boats and on shore, that when any little thing needed attention they would remark: "Oh, let it alone until the 'old man' comes around"; and usually the first question he would ask when he did come was: "Well, what have you for me to do?" Illustrative of this trait, as well as showing the unostentatiousness of the man, the following story is related: One day while on board one of his steamers he went back to the carpenter shop and commenced making something that he saw was needed. An aristocratic Southerner, a passenger, happened below, and noticing Reynolds at work, engaged him in conversation.

On returning to the upper deck he said to the captain: "I have had a very pleasant chat with your old carpenter below decks. He seems rather an intelligent old fellow."

"Yes," said the captain, "he is somewhat intelligent. His name is Reynolds, commonly known as 'Diamond Jo.' He owns this line of steamboats, a railroad in Arkansas, numerous gold mines in Colorado and Ari-

zona, and is probably worth two or three million dollars."

He was not only respected but loved by his associates and employees. Capt. Fred A. Bill has this to say of him:

In many ways Mr. Reynolds was peculiar. He was very quiet and had little use for "society"; minded his own business and expected others to do likewise. He told very little of himself, and practically nothing of his early life, which was generally supposed to have been one of great hardship. He became rich and famous; made money rapidly, and when it was made it was easy to trace that it came from reasoning from cause to effect, and not from what is commonly called luck. While nearly always in debt it was his boast that he could generally pay his debts, if forced, within twenty-four hours. His word was his bond, and he had the unlimited confidence of those who knew him, and was always able to get credit that would enable him to embark in any enterprise he desired.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>27</sup> The following, from a letter received from A. G. Long, of Portland, Ore., a former employee of the Diamond Jo Line, affords an indication of the regard which the men working under him had for Reynolds: "As I write this little sketch there is on my desk a picture of Joseph Reynolds, that grand old character, who left his imprint upon—and who contributed so greatly to the development of—what was then called, in the seventies, 'The Northwest.' . . . Mr. Reynolds was a man who had peculiar traits, many of them most lovable, and I have been greatly influenced through my entire business career by lessons early learned from him. One of his characteristics was that when he found any man had wronged him in a business transaction he seldom made much fuss about it—in fact, would suffer a severe loss before he would take a case into the courts; but ever after, that particular person was 'down and out' with Diamond Jo Reynolds. In other words, he might be robbed or wronged one time, but never the second time by the same individual, and he made but little fuss about it the first time. The same in regard to his employees. If an employee was found guilty of a breach of trust he was usually allowed to drop out without any noise; but he was out good and hard forever after. Another feature of Diamond Jo's character was that he appointed a man to fill a place and looked to him for results. That is, he depended on the appointee's individuality and originality, without any special direction from himself. It always seemed to me that this policy developed the best there was in a man. There have been but few, if any, who have left such a name for probity and high integrity as Diamond Jo Reynolds; and those of us who were fortunate enough to be associated with him, revere his memory, and think of him as one of the grand char-

The writer of this history saw him but once. Standing in the pilot house of the "Mary Morton," lying at the levee at McGregor in the spring of 1882, Thomas Burns, the pilot, called his attention to a man sitting on a "snubbing-post" industriously engaged in cutting a big V in the timber with an evidently sharp and efficient jackknife. He spoke to no one, and did not appear to notice the boat at all. This was probably not the case. It was Burns's opinion that Reynolds had made a mental inventory of the appearance and condition of the boat, of the manner in which it had been handled in making the landing, and of the efficiency of the mate in getting the cargo on board; but he spoke to no one, and no one spoke to him while we were looking. "He is scheming," said Burns; and his thoughts may have been in Colorado or Arizona rather than in McGregor.

It will be remembered that the line organized by Capt. Peyton S. Davidson in 1880 had been withdrawn in the fall of 1882. William F. Davidson, president of the St. Louis & St. Paul Packet Company died at his home in St. Paul, May 26, 1887. The boats and other property of the company were sold to a syndicate consisting of Charles H. Petsch, the Ham Brewing Company, and others, by whom the service was continued for four years longer under the name of the St. Louis, St. Paul & Minneapolis Packet Company; but the loss of some of its best boats at last compelled its surrender, and at the close of the season of 1890 it, also, withdrew from the river. In the spring of 1891 the Diamond Jo Line bought one of the remaining boats, the "Gem City,"<sup>28</sup> a fast side-  
acters in the early history of the development of the upper Mississippi Valley."

<sup>28</sup> The "Gem City" was built at St. Louis in 1881 for W. F. Davidson's St. Louis & St. Paul Packet Company; 263 feet long, 29.8 feet beam, 5.6 feet hold; 756.37 tons; 4 boilers, each 30 feet long, 42 inches diameter, with 4 flues each; engines, said to have been those of the "Alex. Mitchell," 28 inches diameter by 7 feet stroke; stateroom accommodations for 298 passengers; cost \$60,000. Ran in St. Louis and Keokuk trade. Bought

wheeler, together with all the warehouses and other property in the St. Louis-Keokuk trade, and the following year took over the "St. Paul,"<sup>29</sup> another large and handsome side-wheeler, and the remaining property of the old line, including its warehouses between Keokuk and St. Paul. Thus the Diamond Jo Line was left the only organized steamboat line in operation on the upper river between St. Louis and St. Paul. To the conservatism as well as the zeal and energy of its founder and godfather, and the practical steamboat men whom he had gathered about him as advisers, this great success was due. The managers of other lines had displayed as great zeal and energy; but they had lacked the conservative element in their calculations. They had put their earnings into a dozen boats when the work might have been done with ten. They had been over-zealous, and over-optimistic. The life of a steamboat is brief at best. Before the river had been lighted and cleared from snags, wrecks, and other obstructions, four or five years was the limit of probabilities. Later this probability was doubled; but the possibility of loss was ever present. The Diamond Jo Company bought boats only as it had use for them, and by selling the older and smaller boats while they were yet salable and buying new and larger ones to meet its increasing business, it was able to declare dividends, and to outlive all of its rivals, maintaining itself longer than any other line that ever operated on the Mississippi, either on the upper or lower river.

At the annual meeting held at McGregor, Mar. 19, by Diamond Jo Line, 1891, thoroughly overhauled and refitted at a cost of \$10,000 and run in the same trade, with Capt. William Burke as master. Rebuilt at Dubuque, winter of 1895, and rechristened "Quincy."

<sup>29</sup> The "St. Paul" (old) was 300 feet long, 36.3 feet beam, 6.2 feet hold, 833.53 tons; built at St. Louis in 1883, for W. F. Davidson's St. Louis & St. Paul Packet Company, and run in the St. Louis and Keokuk trade. Bought by Diamond Jo Line, 1892, and placed in same trade. Capt. John Killeen was master in 1894 and 1895. Rebuilt at Dubuque, 1903.

1891, following the death of Reynolds, E. M. Dickey, John Killeen, and Fred A. Bill were elected directors; E. M. Dickey was elected president; John Killeen, vice-president, and Fred A. Bill, secretary and treasurer. Subsequently the following general officers were appointed: John Killeen, superintendent; Fred A. Bill, general passenger and freight agent; A. L. Dawley,<sup>30</sup> cashier; Isaac P. Lusk, assistant superintendent and general agent at St. Louis. The line then consisted of three boats, which were ready to be put in commission at the opening of navigation — the "Pittsburg," Capt. John Killeen; the "Sidney," Capt. William Boland; and the "Mary Morton," Capt. L. H. Cubberly. Dickey having been appointed one of the administrators of the estate (with Mrs. Reynolds), making it necessary for him to remove to Chicago, the management of the steamboat line devolved for the time being upon the other officers. This arrangement continued until 1893, when Fred A. Bill was sent to Hot Springs in the interest of the Reynolds estate, to look after the affairs of the short-line railroad,

<sup>30</sup> Albert L. Dawley, for many years a popular clerk in the employ of the Minnesota Packet Company and its successors, was born in 1851, at LeClaire, Iowa, and began his steamboating days in the year 1865 as news-boy on the "Bill Henderson," running between Davenport and Dubuque. After sixteen years of river experience he entered the employ of the Diamond Jo Line in 1881 as second clerk on the steamer "Josie," and from there in 1882 went to the "Libbie Conger" as chief clerk. In 1883 he was clerk of the "Sidney." In the spring of 1884 he quit the river to engage in the wholesale notion business; but after one year returned to the river as clerk, serving on the "Libbie Conger" and "Mary Morton," and having in the meantime received his master's certificate he served some time as captain. In 1888 he went into the general offices of the company at Dubuque as bookkeeper, where he remained until the offices were removed to St. Louis, in 1895, when he went with the office, being the only one of the office force who was moved to St. Louis. He remained there until the line was sold to the Streckfus Steamboat Company in 1911, when he resigned, having served the Diamond Jo Company twenty-five years — twenty-three of which were continuous service. He is living at his old home in LeClaire, and during the season of 1913 was clerk of the White Collar Steamer "Morning Star," Capt. Walter A. Blair.



of which he was named manager, general passenger and freight agent, auditor, and local treasurer, all of which positions he filled for the next nine years, at the same time continuing as a director in the steamboat company.

Mrs. Reynolds died in August, 1895, leaving the whole of her estate, amounting to several millions, to her brother, Jay Morton, of Rockland, New York. Morton came to Chicago and assumed control of the property. At the annual election held at the company's offices in Dubuque, Mar. 2, 1896, Jay Morton was elected president; John Killeen, superintendent, and Isaac P. Lusk, general passenger and freight agent. The president's office was to be in Chicago; the office of the superintendent at Dubuque; while Lusk had his offices at St. Louis, with A. L. Dawley as his assistant and cashier. Dawley had been acting as secretary and treasurer from the time F. A. Bill was transferred to Hot Springs in 1893.

The boats of the line at this time — 1893 — were the "Mary Morton," the "Sidney," the "Pittsburg," the "Gem City," and the "St. Paul." With them service was maintained between St. Louis and Keokuk without material change until 1895, when the "Mary Morton" was sold to St. Louis parties.

The following year witnessed the greatest disaster sustained by the company during its existence, yet by miraculous good fortune it was without loss of life to passengers or employees. The "Pittsburg" had been given a new hull in the winter of 1895-96, and had just entered upon the season's work in the run between St. Louis and St. Paul when she was wrecked in the great cyclone that swept through the city of St. Louis, May 27, 1896. The story of the storm is thus graphically told by Capt. James P. Boland, master of the "Pittsburg" at the time:

In telling the story of my experience in this great storm I am reminded of another one which occurred some eight years



previous, in 1888, when I was mate on the "Chas. P. Chouteau," Capt. William Thorwegan, which may be of interest at this time.

We laid up at the "log pound," as it is called, at St. Louis. There were two men with me on the "Chouteau," the engineer, Henry Waltz, and the watchman, John Moynahan. We had the boat well fast, with eight or ten good lines; but when the storm struck us, at about eleven o'clock at night, she went out into the river as though not fastened at all. I was in bed in the Texas<sup>31</sup> at the time, and, the night being warm, I was not overly clad. Without waiting to put on any clothes I rushed for the pilot house; but before reaching there my head and shoulders were so badly cut by the hail that I could not lie on my back for some days thereafter. The boat answered her rudders the moment I turned the wheel, and I headed her for the Illinois shore. The water was high and the bank flat, and her momentum was so great that she went over the bank, and hard aground back to her boilers. It took three tugs two or three days to get her back into the river. During this storm the steamers "Champion," "Blue Lodge," "Dick Wood," and

<sup>31</sup> The name applied to the small cabins found on most passenger boats on the Mississippi River and tributaries, upon which the pilot house is superimposed, in which the officers of the boat are usually quartered. This title is said to have originated about the year 1845, when a loyal citizen of the republic conceived the idea of giving the staterooms in the new steamboat he was building the names of the several states instead of the conventional numbers. His boat had twenty-eight staterooms in the cabin, to which he applied the names of the states in the order in which they were admitted to the Union. When he finished he found that the name of the latest commonwealth—Texas—was left over, and this name he promptly applied to the officers' cabin on the roof.

Captain Killeen supplies (in a letter dated Dec. 17, 1915) a different explanation of the origin of the name. It sets forth that in early days the meat supply for New Orleans and other southern cities was driven to Louisiana and Mississippi by Texas cowboys. They usually left New Orleans under the influence of liquor and made so much trouble that one of the boat owners built a shanty on top of his boat and stipulated with the Texans who wished to secure passage with him that they must occupy the quarters thus provided, where their quarrels could be fought out without disturbing the other passengers or the crew. "This occurred," concludes Captain Killeen, "before my day on the river. If I had had the naming of it I would probably have called it Pittsburgh, as the Pittsburgh coal-boat men were the wildest lot that I have ever seen on a steamboat anywhere."

"Bright Light" were lost. At the same time there were several boats lying at the Arsenal that were not injured at all.

I was in command of the "Pittsburg" in 1896. We arrived in St. Louis on the morning of May 25th. The "Pittsburg" had recently been thoroughly overhauled — in fact her hull had practically been rebuilt, and she was in first-class shape. Our regular time to leave was on May 26 at 4 P. M.; but under orders we were held over until the 28th. Early in the morning of the 27th there were indications of a storm, and when the signal service telephoned its caution I asked Mr. Lusk, the general agent, and in charge in St. Louis, to get a tug to take the "Pittsburg" to the Arsenal, my former experience convincing me that that place was the most secure of any around St. Louis, and we were all convinced that a storm of more than ordinary proportions was coming. Unfortunately, as it proved, Mr. Lusk did not accept my suggestion.

When the storm first struck us the "Pittsburg" and wharf boats were blown up on the levee; but in a second of time the wind changed and swept everything out into the river. As the "Pittsburg" and wharf boat went out they struck the "Dolphin No. 2," turning her over and passing over her. This tore the guard off the "Pittsburg's" hull, broke the cylinder timbers and let her wheel down. As I remember, about 165 feet of the starboard guard was torn away. On this guard were about eighty tons of freight, mostly pig iron, barrels of whisky, and carboys of sal soda, all of which went into the river. Shortly after this accident old Dan Sauer, the carpenter, and as faithful and efficient a man as ever trod the deck of a steamboat, who had taken his post of duty in the hold of the "Pittsburg," reported that she was leaking badly, caused by her listing badly to the starboard side. I at once started the few men who had remained with us to throwing the freight on the larboard side overboard. Mr. Lusk, the general agent, who was on the wharf boat when the storm struck, got aboard the boat and joined with the rest of us in throwing the cargo overboard to lighten ship. When this freight was off she righted and the leak was materially lessened. About this time, to add to the excitement and danger, the "Pittsburg" caught fire at the cook-house. This was extinguished by Mr. Beyer, steward of the boat, with the help of

the porter and a few other colored men who had stuck to the boat, and who worked faithfully and well. Tom Stead, the second mate, Ed. Dougherty, the second clerk, and three or four others jumped overboard when the storm first struck us, and swam ashore.

I had the wharf boat cut loose from the "Pittsburg" as we were passing Pittsburg Dyke. I knew she would go into the eddy, which she did, and the two men left on board of her made her fast as she struck the shore. The "Pittsburg" ran into a ferryboat about this time, but no special damage was done. The steamer "Libbie Conger" was just ahead of us and to our right. I saw her go down head first, about a mile below the bridge and about abreast of the Arsenal wall. The river was full of boats, barges, and wreckage of all kinds. We were rapidly floating downstream, and when abreast of Arsenal Island we found the steamer "John Dippold" tied there. As we passed her, Maurice Killeen, first clerk, a colored porter, and myself jumped overboard with a hawser and managed to get it ashore and made fast to a good tree. Steward Billy Byers and the colored porter handled the hawser on board, and snubbed the "Pittsburg" in to the bank after we went overboard with it, under directions I gave them before we left the boat. After some difficulty we got the "Pittsburg" landed, and the passengers and such of the crew as wished to leave were taken aboard the "John Dippold," which was lying at the bank partially dismantled; but her cabin afforded much better shelter than we had, as the only part of the "Pittsburg's" upper works not wholly destroyed was the laundry, and the chambermaid's room, aft. Miss Clara Freymark, stenographer on the wharf boat, was wet and cold, having jumped overboard when the "Pittsburg" landed, but was rescued by myself. She was determined to jump overboard again, and as we did not have time to watch her I tied her to a stanchion. We had ten passengers on board — two families named Tinkham, bound for Read's Landing, and an old man with two daughters from Beardstown, Illinois. These had been received before orders came to hold the boat over for two days. They preferred to stay with us rather than have their money refunded. About midnight the tug "Susie Hazzard," Capt. Jim Good in command, was passing

downstream. I hailed him, and at first he refused to come in; but when I told him we had some ladies with us, and that some of them were injured and needed medical attention, he came in and took us all back to St. Louis. Mrs. Tinkham had a leg hurt in the wreck of the cabin.

The following boats were either badly wrecked or totally lost in this cyclone: "Arkansas City," "Benton," "Cherokee," "City of Monroe," "City of Vicksburg," "Dolphin No. 2," "J. M. Curr," "Libbie Conger," "Pittsburg," "Quincy," (a small stern-wheeler), two Wiggins ferryboats, two tugs, and several other boats the names of which I do not now recall. The steamer "Henry Lowrey" lay at the foot of Market Street, and was the only boat not blown loose or damaged.

Our wharf boat was taken away from the Illinois shore where she lay, the second day after the storm, but the "Pittsburg" remained where we landed her for four days. We stripped her wheel, and on the third morning after the storm the United States steamer "Gen. Barnard" picked up her shaft and placed it on the forecastle. On the fourth day the "Barnard," with the help of a tug, towed the "Pittsburg" back to St. Louis. Two days later the "Josephine" arrived at St. Louis with orders from Supt. John Killeen for me to take the "Pittsburg" to U. S. dry dock at Keokuk, have her chains and hog-chain braces put in shape, and then take her to Dubuque. This was done, and the boat was at once rebuilt and christened "Dubuque." After delivering the "Pittsburg" at Dubuque I returned to St. Louis and completed the season on the "St. Paul," in the St. Louis and Keokuk trade.

Captain Boland relates his further experiences on the rechristened "Dubuque," and the circumstances attending the last days of his service with the Diamond Jo Line Steamers. He says:

When the "Dubuque" was completed in the spring of 1897 I was placed in command of her, and we started out about the last of April in the St. Louis and St. Paul trade. All went well until some time in the month of August. In coming downstream, with a good passenger trip, through the Winona bridge, with Levi Williams, one of the best of pilots at the wheel, she struck the bridge with terrific force, knocking a hole in her hull.

We beached her directly opposite the city of Winona, and she went down in six feet of water. We at once reported the accident to the Dubuque office, and reshipped the passengers by rail.

With the help of the carpenter, George Rich, and the mate, Michael Murphy, I found the break, which was about twenty-two feet long and from five to twelve inches wide. We patched the hole, without the assistance of a diver, by getting into the water and staying long enough to drive a spike at a time. This was a pretty hard task, and we were all pretty well exhausted when it was completed. Through the kindness of Capt. Sam Van Sant we got the use of the steamer "Thistle," and after getting up steam on the "Dubuque" pumped her out and started down the river. En route down we met, on the train, an outfit of tackle and divers coming up to raise her. We reached the ways at Eagle Point, Dubuque, in thirty-six hours after she struck the bridge.

This was my last work for the Diamond Jo Line Steamers. Almost immediately after arriving at Dubuque I was paid off, for no reason that I was able to learn, except that I was successful in raising the "Dubuque" too quickly, thus entailing needless expense in sending the wrecking outfit up the river. Certainly it was not for sinking the boat, for no one could be blamed for that, it being one of the unavoidable accidents incident to river navigation. My period of service with the Diamond Jo Line Steamers covered about twenty-five years.

On May 26, 1901, the "Dubuque" was snagged and sunk a few miles above Oquawka. This accident illustrates better than any other that occurred to the Diamond Jo Line the danger at all times besetting the Mississippi River steamboat, and which has caused at least three-fourths of the wrecks on western rivers since the advent of steam as a propelling power. The following account of the sinking of the "Dubuque" is taken greatly abbreviated, from the *Burlington Gazette* of May 27, 1901:

The large and magnificent steamer "Dubuque" of the Diamond Jo Line Steamers struck a sunken stump in the main channel of the river at a point five miles above Oquawka at exactly 6:30 last night, and sank in eight feet of water within thirty seconds. So swift and sudden was the catastrophe that it was all



over before a panic could ensue among the passengers, and the big steamer that a minute before had been the pride of the Diamond Jo Line rested on the bed of the river, with the hull a broken mass of timbers.

The passengers were at dinner and Capt. Michael J. Murphy had just arisen from his seat at the head of the table, when a terrific shock was felt, and a grinding, crushing noise arose. Then the big liner settled down into the water, which covered the lower deck amidships to a depth of two to four feet. At the first crash Engineer Frank Good shut off steam, and with his firemen ran for the stairway leading to the boiler deck. The two score of negro roustabouts perched on piles of freight sprang with desperate fear to the sides of the boat and climbed like monkeys up the outside stanchions to the boiler deck above.

The passengers behaved in a sensible manner, and except for several ladies who were hysterical, there was no indication of a panic, and Captain Murphy and other officers of the boat were able to convince them that there was not the slightest danger. The big boat did not travel half its length after striking the stump before sinking, and now lies straight north and south, with a slight list to starboard, about seventy-five yards from the Illinois shore.

Clearing away one of the "Dubuque's" small boats, Chief Clerk Maurice Killeen was rowed down the river five miles to Oquawka, where he telephoned the news of the disaster to Agent Frank B. Hopkins, at Burlington, and wired to Capt. John Killeen, general manager of the line at Dubuque, and to Isaac P. Lusk, general agent at St. Louis.

Clerk Killeen learned at Oquawka that the steamer "W. J. Young" was at New Boston, where it had stopped as usual on the down trip for the night. He telephoned to Capt. Walter A. Blair for assistance, and the latter started down the river at once to the scene of the wreck. The "W. J. Young" arrived at the wreck at 1:30 A. M., and the forty-six passengers who had spent the intervening hours in the boat's cabin, were taken by the "Young" and brought to Burlington, arriving here at 5:30, A. M., where they were looked after by Agent Hopkins, who attended to their comfort, and they departed by train for St. Louis.



Pilot Levi Williams, an old-time steamboat man, and one whose reputation for skill and carefulness has never been questioned, was at the wheel when the "Dubuque" struck. The point is at a bend one mile north of Johnson's Island, and the channel runs close to the Illinois shore. The boat was running at a high speed when it struck a sunken stump at a point in the hull on the port side, just forward of the boilers. A great ragged hole was torn entirely through the hull for a distance of 142 feet, and some six feet wide, through which the water poured in as a flood, sinking the boat in less than one minute. It is believed that the hull is damaged beyond repair, and it is doubtful if the "Dubuque" can be raised. In this case the boat is practically a total loss. The opening runs diagonally through the boat to the starboard side. She is valued at \$50,000. General Manager John Killeen will arrive at the wreck this afternoon and will determine whether it is practicable to raise the sunken steamer.

Captain Killeen, upon arrival at the wreck, with the aid of his divers, decided that it would be possible to raise the vessel. Tools, machinery, and material were brought from the yard at Dubuque, and within thirty-eight days the big boat was on the ways at the Dubuque shipyard. A description of the manner of raising her may prove of interest to the layman. Ordinarily in the case of a small break, especially if it is on the side of the hull, it is possible to patch it from the outside, and by bulkheading the boat it is a short job to pump her out and float her. In the case of the "Dubuque," with a six-foot rent reaching over half the length of the ship, this was impossible; and in order to save her resort was had to the more expensive and slower coffer-dam process. In response to a request Captain Killeen has supplied the following explanation of the method of procedure employed:

In regard to placing a bulkhead around a break, for example ten feet long and two feet wide. The first thing to do is to send a diver down to clear away around the break. Then

spike a two-by-eight the length of the break, and away from the break some four or six inches. In from that twelve or fourteen inches spike another two-by-eight. Do the same on the other side of the break. Then on the inside of these newly placed floor stringers place two-by-ten or two-by-twelve grub-planks, on end, all the way around the break. Use floor timbers at the end of the break for stringers. These grub-planks must be carried above the water. In case the water goes above the deck, the opening in the deck must be made a neat fit so that the deck will brace the plank. These planks must be fitted around the floor timbers. Now we have the two tiers of plank reaching above the water all around the break. These planks should be well braced with side-stringers and shores. The next thing is to hunt up a good clay, and fill up the ten or twelve inches between the two lines of grub-planks. This should be extended a little above the water-line. That will stop any leak from the break. Then place a bulkhead around the boat. On a stern-wheel boat the stern bulkhead and the side bulkheads are used for that purpose. Next stop all leaks about the rudders, siphon, and blow-off pipes. Then canvas around on the outside of the bulkhead. I generally place the suction from the pump at the after end of the boilers. Just as soon as the pump starts throwing it draws the canvas up to the bulkheads, and if the work is done well there will be little trouble. I have never had a bulkhead constructed in this way that failed me. As an example of such work I will mention the steamer "Quincy," sunk above Trempealeau. The water was almost up to the top of her side-house; yet we raised her with a little ten-inch pump in four hours.

The "Dubuque" was thoroughly repaired and was back in service in September, 1901. With four boats the Diamond Jo Line continued to run out of St. Louis, covering both the Keokuk run and the St. Paul run with a weekly service. In 1903 the "St. Paul"—old, was rebuilt at the Dubuque shipyard and continued to run under the same name, although very materially changed as to shape of hull and cabin arrangement for the better accommodation of the passenger trade to which the line

particularly catered. In 1906 the "Gem City" was dismantled at Dubuque and rebuilt as the "Quincy."

The history of the line may be briefly stated so far as the following years of its service are concerned. Jay Morton continued as president, John Killeen, general manager, and Isaac P. Lusk as general freight and passenger agent. Four boats were in service every season until 1911, when the property of the line was sold to the Streckfus Steamboat Company. The boats thus transferred were the side-wheel steamers "St. Paul" and "Quincy," and the stern-wheel steamers "Sidney" and "Dubuque," all as fine boats as ever operated on the river above St. Louis. In the transfer to the Streckfus Company were included these four boats, the wharf boat at St. Louis, the shipyard at Dubuque, and all the warehouses and other property along the river between St. Louis and St. Paul, the name alone excepted. This title was retained; and whenever in the future historians shall mention the Diamond Jo Line the name will recall the man whose genius built it up from the day of small beginnings in 1862, when the little "Lansing" was built, through all the years that witnessed so many changes in upper-river steamboat ownership, until, at the end of half a century, it remained the only organized steamboat line between St. Louis and St. Paul. Its title and its history constitute the greatest monument that can be erected to the memory of its founder — "Diamond Jo" Reynolds.

## RURAL LIFE IN THE LOWER MISSISSIPPI VALLEY ABOUT 1803

BY WILLIAM O. SCROGGS

Early in the nineteenth century, when it became known that Napoleon had regained the province of Louisiana from Spain and had determined to revive the French colonial empire in the Western World, the newly restored territory became an object of lively interest to the people of France. As a result, soon after the treaty of retrocession became known a number of French travelers came to Louisiana to study the people and the natural resources, and to record the results of their observations for the enlightenment of their countrymen in Europe. Through the eyes of these travelers we may now get a more or less accurate view of the civilization of the lower Mississippi Valley in the last hours of its domination by European influences and just before the process of its Americanization had begun. The unique social life of the city of New Orleans at this time has already been portrayed by various writers,<sup>1</sup> and at times in considerable detail; but for some reason the manners and customs of the people dwelling outside the limits of this municipality, though equally distinctive and interesting, have received hardly a passing glance from the historian. From such statistics as we have it appears that in 1803 the population of New Orleans was about one-fifth of the total number of inhabitants then dwelling on the Mississippi and its tributaries below the settlements at Natchez. Any description, therefore, of the civilization

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<sup>1</sup> See George W. Cable, *The Creoles of Louisiana*, 135-140; John B. McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, III, 15 ff.

of the lower Valley, which overlooks the rural population, is necessarily incomplete. It is for the purpose of filling this hiatus that this paper has been prepared.

In 1803 there were twenty distinct zones of rural settlements within the limits of the present state of Louisiana. Two of these districts — Balize, or the Lower Coast, and St. Bernard, or *Terre aux Boeufs* — lay below the city of New Orleans. The first of these, with a population of about 2,500, of whom one-half were slaves, included all the settlements below the city on both banks of the river. The St. Bernard district consisted of settlements along the bayou for which it was named, extending eastward from English Turn toward the Gulf coast. Its inhabitants, estimated at about 600, consisted for the most part of colonists from the Canary Islands. Between New Orleans and Lake Pontchartrain lay a third district, designated as Bayou St. John, in which there were between four and five hundred inhabitants.

Leaving New Orleans and proceeding up the river, the traveler would first pass through the section known as the Upper Coast, or *Chapitoulas*, which lay along both banks for a distance of fifteen miles. The population of this region then consisted mainly of slaves, whose masters dwelt in the city. Above the Upper Coast, for about ten miles on both banks, lay the so-called First German Coast (sometimes termed the St. Charles Coast) and adjoining this and extending fifteen miles further up the river lay the Second German Coast (or Coast of St. John the Baptist).<sup>2</sup> The earliest settlers in these two districts were Germans who had migrated to America at the instigation of John Law and had established themselves at first upon the banks of the Arkansas River, but after Law's downfall they abandoned their holdings there and had secured permission to settle on the lower

<sup>2</sup> These and other districts in southern Louisiana were sometimes designated by the ecclesiastical names that had been bestowed on church parishes within their limits.



Mississippi just above New Orleans. The Germans were very industrious and soon came to play the rôle of purveyors to the city, furnishing the urban population with vegetables, fruits, wild fowl, and fish. It was their custom every Friday evening to load their pirogues with their produce and float with the current to the city, where on Saturdays they would hold a market along the river front.<sup>3</sup> There was also a large French element among the inhabitants of the German Coasts, but the Germans showed a tendency to resist assimilation. They preserved their language and customs, and though having none of the open and affable disposition of the French, they are described as being very honest and kind and hospitable to strangers. They owned few slaves, did their own field work, and lived comfortably without acquiring great wealth.<sup>4</sup> The two German Coasts in 1803 contained about 5,000 inhabitants.

Above the German Coasts were two districts known as the First and Second Acadian Coasts, each of which extended along both banks of the river for a distance of about eighteen miles.<sup>5</sup> The first of these comprised a population in 1803 of about 2,500 and the second a population of about 1,200. They derived the name Acadian from their first settlers, refugees from the province of Acadia, or Nova Scotia, who after their expulsion from Canada in 1755 eventually found their way to their compatriots in Louisiana. After settling in this territory they gradually spread to the neighboring bayous, and today their descendants are found in every part of southern and central Louisiana.

Above the Second Acadian Coast, as far north as the

<sup>3</sup> N. Bossu, *Nouveaux Voyages aux Indes Occidentales*, 38.

<sup>4</sup> C. C. Robin, *Voyages dans l'Interieur de la Louisiane*, II, 239; Perin du Lac, *Travels Through the Two Louisianas*, 86.

<sup>5</sup> The first Acadian Coast was also designated as Catahanosé or Caba-hanocé, and the second Acadian Coast as Lafourche de Chetimachas.



Iberville River, was the district of Iberville, which took its name from the stream. Strictly speaking, the Iberville was not a river, but merely a spillway for the Mississippi at high water. Its bed was dry for a good part of the year, but when the Mississippi rose and poured its waters into this depression the Iberville became a considerable stream and helped to form the Island of New Orleans, so frequently mentioned in the diplomatic correspondence of this period. The Iberville constituted part of the boundary between Louisiana and West Florida. The district of Iberville contained in 1797 a population of 1,110, of whom 314 were slaves. Farther east, near the junction of the Iberville and Amite rivers, lay the small Spanish settlement of Galveztown, comprising some 250 people.<sup>6</sup> This village was destined soon to be almost entirely abandoned, as its Spanish population, on hearing of the transfer of Louisiana to the United States, moved in a body off the Island of New Orleans and took up lands in the vicinity of the Spanish fort at Baton Rouge, hoping thus to remain under the flag of their mother country. The area upon which they settled now lies within the limits of the city of Baton Rouge, and to this day is designated as "Spanish Town."

The district above the Iberville on the east bank and extending to the American boundary line was designated under the Spanish régime as "the government of Baton Rouge." On the first bluffs of the Mississippi was a small fort garrisoned by Spanish soldiers, and in the vicinity was a sparse population of various nationalities, French, Spanish, and Anglo-American. Included within this jurisdiction were the settlements of Thompson's Creek and Bayou Sara. Here for the first time the settlements on the east of the river extended a considerable

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<sup>6</sup> James A. Robertson, in his *Louisiana under the Rule of Spain, France, and the United States, 1785-1807*, I, 307, makes the amusing error of confusing this settlement with Galveston, Texas.

distance back from the banks. In this section in 1803 cotton plantations were springing up rapidly.<sup>7</sup>

Above the Iberville district on the west bank of the Mississippi was the district of Pointe Coupée, or False River. This section was then regarded as one of the wealthiest in the province.<sup>8</sup> Its upper portion, however, appears to have been inhabited by the poorest type of Acadians.<sup>9</sup> The fact that the slaves in Pointe Coupée were three times as numerous as the whites would indicate the existence of a planter aristocracy, even if we did not have the testimony of travelers to this effect. The traveler found in Pointe Coupée better manners, more dignity and display, more pleasure-seeking, and more rustling of finery, than in the other river settlements. A certain exclusiveness, in marked contrast to the pioneer democracy of other sections, was noted.<sup>10</sup> The planter who owned a hundred negroes disdained to associate, on equal terms, with the man who had only fifty, and the latter in turn held himself above the man who owned still less. Nevertheless, pride did not interfere with hospitality. There was no tavern in the district, for the hospitality of the people made such an establishment unnecessary. The bounty and variety upon his host's table astonished the traveler, who expected much less in such a remote community. Spacious and well-constructed dwellings, fine gardens, and large enclosures gave this region an air of prosperity not found in the settlements farther down the river. As the negroes far outnumbered the French — there being over 1,600 slaves in 1791 and only 547 whites — the latter were accustomed to keep a close watch on the cabins and to ride the patrol.

<sup>7</sup> *Mémoires sur la Louisiane, par M. Perrin du Lac*, 85; Berquin-Duvallon, *Travels in Louisiana and in Florida in the Year 1802, Translated from the French by John Davis*, 166; Robin, *op. cit.*, II, 242.

<sup>8</sup> Henry M. Brackenridge, *Views of Louisiana*, 178.

<sup>9</sup> Perrin du Lac, *op. cit.*, 86.

<sup>10</sup> "L'orgueil isole chacun de ses voisins." Robin, *op. cit.*, II, 242.

The planters of Pointe Coupée carried on considerable trade with the Americans on the other side of the river. From them they purchased practically everything they needed, including slaves, which they usually obtained on long-term credit. The traders took as payment the produce of the plantations, especially indigo, peltry, bear's oil, salted meat, and cattle. Peddlers, known as "coasters," also came up the river by boat from New Orleans, their pirogues loaded with sugar, coffee, tafia, crockery, muslins, woolens, handkerchiefs, and linens. Their wares were of mediocre quality but were offered at reasonable prices on account of the competition between the numerous traders. The boatmen bartered their goods for anything that they could sell in the city, such as hides, tallow, meal, corn, rice, poultry, and eggs, and stealthily traded with the slaves as well as with the masters. The latter constantly complained that their slaves stole whatever they could get and exchanged it with the boatmen for things to eat, drink, or wear. The favored slaves, however, were allowed to have some corn and pigs of their own, and were thus able to trade on their own account. In addition to the coasters, there were the land peddlers with horse carts or with packs on their backs, carrying a varied assortment of merchandise and trinkets. In the remote rural settlements the traders performed a real service by bringing goods from the city to the door of the habitant and affording him some sort of a market for his produce.<sup>11</sup>

On the right bank of the river there were very few settlers between Pointe Coupée and the mouth of the Arkansas, as the intervening area was subject to serious inundations. West of the Mississippi, however, numerous settlements had sprung up along the other rivers and the more important bayous. Here the inhabitants were of quite a different type from those dwelling upon the

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 242-254.

banks of the Father of Waters. The settlements were separated by vast tracts of wilderness, and the streams furnished the only means of communication. Small Acadian farmers, known along the coast as *petits habitants*, settled thickly along Bayou Lafourche.<sup>12</sup> This district was known as Valenzuela de la Fourche, and in 1803 it contained about 2,800 inhabitants, of whom less than 400 were slaves. In this respect the settlements west of the Mississippi showed a marked contrast to those along its banks. The total numbers of whites, and blacks in the river settlements were approximately equal, while in all the western communities, except Natchitoches, the negroes were greatly outnumbered by the whites. Bayou Lafourche was lined with farms, only one deep, along its banks for a distance of forty miles, and in 1803 cotton was rapidly becoming the staple crop.

Along the Bayous Teche and Vermilion another zone of settlements sprang up. This region was called the Attakapas country, after the tribe of aborigines who had once occupied it. Indian traders frequented this district as early as 1750, and about two decades later the provincial authorities colonized the country with newly arrived Acadian refugees. The inhabitants of the Attakapas country numbered, according to the census of 1803, 3,746, of whom 2,270 were whites, 1,266 were slaves and 210 were free persons of color. Cattle-raising was the chief industry. The animals were left largely to themselves and were allowed to stray in the woods or on the prairies, where they multiplied rapidly but showed a tendency to degenerate. To this day the term "Attakapas" is used in various parts of southern Louisiana to designate the scrub stock that roves in the woods and on the prairies. Very few of the Attakapas farmers knew the number of cattle they owned, and they usually made an effort to round them up and count them only at inter-

<sup>12</sup> Brackenridge, *op. cit.*, 178.

vals of two or three years. Many cattle were lost every winter, when vegetation was sparse; and forest fires also did much damage to live stock. The slaves were owned by the planter class, who constituted a very small part of the population. The small farmers worked their own fields, aided by their wives and children, and each household was practically self-sustaining. The channel of the Teche was badly obstructed with the trunks of fallen trees, which rendered navigation difficult in periods of low water and made the exportation of the chief products of this region — cattle and hides — too expensive to be profitable. The Attakapas people were thus thrown largely upon their own resources, but the bounty of nature was conducive to a life of leisure. In spite of the large herds of cattle, milk and butter were rarely seen, and the Acadians would go for months without tasting either. This was attributed by Robin to "the great indolence of the inhabitants." "With us," he says, "men entice nature; but here nature entices men."<sup>13</sup>

Immediately north of the Attakapas country was the district known as Opelousas. It was somewhat more elevated, better drained and more salubrious than the Attakapas country, and the chief industry here was also cattle-raising. Some of the more prosperous inhabitants branded over a thousand head every year.<sup>14</sup> A census enumeration of 1797 gives the population of the Opelousas district as 2,427, of whom 781 were slaves and 103 were free persons of color. A considerable English-speaking element had already entered this region. About seventy-five miles northwest of the Opelousas settlements lay the district along the Red River known as Rapides with about 800 inhabitants, about one-fourth of whom was slaves. Adjoining this district on the east was the district of Avoyelles, with some 300 whites and 100 slaves.

<sup>13</sup> Robin, *op. cit.*, 30-36.

<sup>14</sup> Brackenridge, *op. cit.*, 297.



The two Acadian coasts and the districts of La Fourche, Pointe Coupée, Attakapas, Opelousas, Rapides, and Avoyelles were settled, as already indicated, by Canadian exiles, who formed an element of the population quite distinct from those who came directly from France. The descendants of the latter are today designated as Creoles, while the descendants of the former are still called Acadians, a term which in conversation is often corrupted into "Cajan."<sup>15</sup> The Creoles, being the first arrivals, had the choice of the most desirable parts of the province and established their plantations within convenient distance of the capital upon the clean, smooth banks of the Mississippi, whose waters were always open to navigation and gave them easy access to the city's markets. From New Orleans as far up the stream as the head of Bayou Lafourche (the present town of Donaldsonville) both banks of the river presented an unbroken chain of plantations fronting upon the waters and extending backward for a depth of about one-half a French league. A similar chain of smaller farms was found upon the Lafourche for a distance of about forty miles. Between the Lafourche and Pointe Coupée the line of plantations ceased to be continuous, and there were tracts of unoccupied lands between them. In 1802 Berquin-Duvallon, in ascending the river for five leagues above New Orleans, counted seventy houses, forty being on the right bank and thirty on the left.<sup>16</sup> As the traveler proceeded up the river the rural dwellings, which just above the city were at times rather imposing, became smaller and less pretentious. The homes of the sugar planters were sometimes constructed of brick and flanked with columns; but as a rule the houses were built of heavy timbers, the interstices being filled with clay and the whole covered with whitewash. All houses had galleries,

<sup>15</sup> Many Acadians naturally object to the use of the corrupt form of the word.

<sup>16</sup> Berquin-Duvallon, *op. cit.*, 127.



which were a necessity in the warm climate. The galleries were formed by an extension of the roof, which usually was supported by a row of columns, and they not only shaded the house from the rays of the sun but served in warm weather as a place for entertaining company and even for eating and sleeping. The cabins for the slaves were constructed of cypress logs, the spaces between which were filled with clay mixed with Spanish moss to give it better binding qualities. Many houses were raised several feet from the ground, the better ones standing on brick pillars and the others on trunks of large trees. Raised houses were cooler, and were thought to have fewer mosquitoes than those which were not elevated. It was no uncommon thing among the Acadians to see a house in whose structure there was no iron or other metal. Not a nail had been used, and even the locks, bolts, and keys would be of wood. Carts were also made without iron, their parts being held together with wooden pegs and strips of rawhide.

Very few of the settlers secured their lands by direct grant from the Crown. Most of the holdings were obtained by concessions from the officials of the province, given sometimes orally and sometimes in writing. It was said that during the Spanish régime any man who desired to obtain a tract of land had only to secure the verbal permission of the authorities to occupy it, and that the vague rights thus acquired might be transmitted by inheritance or even seized for debt.<sup>17</sup> As a result, clear titles could be shown to barely one-fourth of the lands. The river planters usually designated the size of their holdings as so many "arpents front" (*arpents de face*). An "arpent front" was a tract of one arpent upon the river bank extending backward so as to include a total area of forty arpents.<sup>18</sup> The plantations along the

<sup>17</sup> *Mémoires sur la Louisiane*, 99-102.

<sup>18</sup> The arpent is still used to designate land areas in Louisiana. Its area is about .85 of the English acre. A plantation of "twenty arpents

Mississippi ranged in size from five to twenty-five arpents front, or from 200 to 1,000 arpents.<sup>19</sup> The smaller holdings along the German and Acadian Coasts consisted of two or three arpents front.<sup>20</sup>

The Acadian country had a life of its own, and its inhabitants created varying impressions upon the Frenchmen who visited the region just before the Louisiana Purchase. Robin calls them "good people" (*bonnes gens*), who display none of the energy of the European in their labor because they feel no pressing need. On the other hand, Berquin-Duvallon, who is bitterly prejudiced, says that they are "rude and sluggish, without ambition, living miserably on their sorry plantations, where they cultivate Indian corn, raise pigs, and get children. Around their houses one sees nothing but hogs, and before their doors great rustic boys and big strapping girls, stiff as bars of iron, gaping for want of thought, or something to do, at the stranger who is passing."<sup>21</sup> Perrin du Lac says that "they seem to have remained in the same mediocrity in which they were when they first arrived in this colony. Their houses seem rather designed for the abode of animals than men; and their children, badly clothed, attract very little attention of their parents."<sup>22</sup>

All these writers are in agreement concerning the almost universal illiteracy. As the Acadians were descendants of ignorant peasants from Normandy, Poitou, Brittany, Aunis, and Picardy, their innocence of booklore should not be surprising. Each isolated community, too, without the assimilating influence of the school or front<sup>23</sup> would thus have an area of 800 arpents, or 680 acres, slightly more than a square mile.

<sup>19</sup> *An Account of Louisiana, Being an Abstract of Documents in the Offices of the Department of State and of the Treasury* (Washington, 1803).

<sup>20</sup> Robin, *op. cit.*, II, 240.

<sup>21</sup> Berquin-Duvallon, *op. cit.*, 78.

<sup>22</sup> Perrin du Lac, *op. cit.*, 86.

printing press, tended to develop a dialect of its own, so that even today we may hear in one village words and terms that are unintelligible to the people in another settlement only a few miles distant.<sup>23</sup>

Though ignorant, and in the presence of strangers noncommunicative and diffident, the Acadians were noted for their simple hospitality and always offered refreshment to the visitor, who, we are told by one traveler, must needs be very hungry if he attempts to eat what they set before him. The staple article of food was Indian corn, which was treated in a variety of ways. It was ground under millstones or beaten in large wooden mortars into meal, and in this form was used to make the familiar corn bread and several kinds of mush and porridge. Broken into small grains and cooked with just enough water to keep it moist, it furnished a dish called *petit gru* (the forerunner of the modern "grits"); in coarser grains and thoroughly boiled with a larger amount of water, it formed a favorite dish called *sagamité*, which is still in common use among the Acadians and Creoles. For use on a journey corn biscuit were made, but were not highly esteemed. For this purpose *farine froide* (cold meal) was preferred. It consisted of parched corn ground into meal, and could either be boiled in water or added to broth. Green corn was also popular as an article of diet. Two crops of corn could be gathered in a single growing season, and its cultivation did not seriously interfere with the work upon other crops. Rice, beans, melons, and pumpkins were other common vegetables. Beef, salt pork, and poultry were produced on the farm, and fish and game were always to be had in abundance.

Along the Red River there was still some trade with the Indians, who exchanged deerskins and bearskins and

<sup>23</sup> See Fortier, "The Acadians and Their Dialect," in *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, VI, No. 1.

deer suet and bear's oil for shot, powder, blankets, and petty trinkets. Bear's oil was an article always in demand, and the fine heads of hair of the French women were sometimes attributed to its use. A pot of bear's oil was worth nearly as much as a bear's skin, and a single animal would furnish from four to twenty pots. The oil obtained from Indians and hunters could be sold in New Orleans at a profit of 100 per cent.

The Acadian women were fond of showy dress, but their costumes, unlike those of the New Orleans ladies, were remarkable for their simplicity. In the summer a single petticoat was regarded as sufficient apparel. The women went barefoot, not only to the fields but even to the dances, and the men, too, donned their shoes or moccasins only on dress occasions. The chief form of amusement was dancing. With these simple folk this was a passion, and they would willingly go a day's journey in order to attend a ball. The guests would arrive, some by boat, some by horse, and some afoot, and would take their seats on long wooden benches ranged against the walls. One or more violins furnished the music, and everybody danced, from grandparents to the youngest. Various kinds of refreshments might be served, ranging from gumbo to tafia diluted with water. In summer the dances were often held out of doors. The Acadian yeomen were free from any suggestion of caste, and though their manners were innocent of urban conventionalities there was in them a trace of Gallic gallantry which made these people appear much less uncouth than the English-speaking pioneer. The Acadian could woo as strenuously as he danced, and his usual form of proposal was "*Faisons le chaudron ensemble.*" (Let's boil the pot together.) When the betrothal was announced, the neighbors would assemble and erect a log cabin for the young couple.

Living upon a rich soil, with the woods at his back

door filled with game and the stream at his front door teeming with fish, the Acadian felt no incentive to severe industry. The woods furnished not only game but also building material and fuel; the river or bayou offered not only fish but also an easy means of travel and a cheap method of transporting produce. His greatest handicap was his ignorance, a condition for which he himself was not responsible.

North of the Acadian country were the three settlements of Natchitoches, Ouachita, and Concord. The last-named, on the Mississippi River opposite Natchez, consisted in 1803 of only a few insignificant huts of Indian traders. Natchitoches was the oldest settlement in Louisiana, having been established by St. Denis in 1714 as an outpost against the Spaniards in Texas. At the time of the Louisiana Purchase it numbered over 1,400 inhabitants, one-half of whom were slaves. The Ouachita district, comprising the northernmost settlements of any importance, contained in 1803 about 500 people, of whom fifty or sixty were slaves. The settlers lived chiefly on the left bank of the Ouachita River, and were scattered for a distance of about fifty miles above and below the Ouachita Post in what is now Union Parish. The population of this region was more heterogeneous than that of any other rural district in Louisiana. The earliest arrivals had been Canadian hunters. Later, Spaniards came in through Mexico and some Irish and Americans came by way of Natchez. The Irish and Americans were interested mainly in raising cattle, hogs, and horses, and had even introduced improved breeds. The French owned slaves and were raising cotton and corn. The Canadians, who were the most picturesque element of this population, were poor farmers but great hunters, and their nomadic life in the forests unfitted them for steady work. They were a profligate set, much addicted to gambling and drinking and always heavily in debt.



After obtaining their supplies on credit, they would set out into the woods early in December, having pledged their quarry for their debts even before they had killed it.<sup>24</sup>

In this remote region a few establishments had already been built which were fine enough to make the visitor forget that he was in the wilderness. In the vicinity of the Ouachita Post there was an especially interesting gentleman styling himself M. Badinsse, who was engaged in farming and in trading with the Indians. He lived in a well-furnished home, and was the proud owner of a library of choice works on poetry, botany, and medicine. The two latter subjects were studied for their utility, as M. Badinsse was the sole practitioner in the community and gave his services without charge. Robin was a guest in this home for several days and was entertained by some of his host's poetry, read by the latter's secretary, who is described as a monument of patience. This farmer, trader, and poet also had an opportunity to demonstrate to his guest his skill in extracting an aching tooth for one of his neighbors. Before taking his departure Robin learned with amazement that his host could neither read nor write and that he dictated his poems to his secretary, who also read to this eccentric man for his instruction and recreation from the books in his library.<sup>25</sup> It also transpired that the real name of the host was Badin, but that he had changed it to Badinsse because he deemed this appellation more poetic.

The effects of the French Revolution made themselves felt even in this remote region. Hither came two emigrant nobles, the Marquis de Maison Rouge and the Baron de Bastrop. They had secured from the King of Spain grants of 30,000 acres and twelve square leagues, respectively, and had planned to bring to the Ouachita

<sup>24</sup> Robin, *op. cit.*, II, 328 ff.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 345-353.



district a large number of settlers, who, like themselves, were not in sympathy with the revolutionary movements in Europe. The Marquis is said to have brought with him a numerous company, including such useful artisans as jewelers and clock makers, whose services in the wilderness were not wholly indispensable. He also brought his carriage in separate parts by boat; but there were no roads for the vehicle, its wheels never crushed the virgin earth, and it returned as it had come. Its owner and his company of satellites did likewise. The Baron de Bastrop, a Hollander, seems to have been more practical. He had a plan for developing trade with the settlers and Indians and had established warehouses and employed agents and interpreters, but his enterprise also failed, largely, it is said, on account of his desire to accumulate riches too rapidly. It is likely that large concessions like these retarded rather than aided the settlement of the wilderness.

At wide intervals along the Red and Ouachita rivers and along the shores of Lake Catahoula might be found at this time the lonely habitations of pioneers from the English-speaking communities to the north and east. They were the advance guard of the great army of American settlers that was soon to sweep over this portion of Louisiana, and belonged to that type of immigrant who always runs ahead as others follow. It was said that the French in this section dreaded an Indian uprising and the coming of the Americans in about equal degree. The purchase of the province in 1803 threw open the gates for the tide of immigration from the States and ushered in a new social and political era. In the remote rural districts, however, the process of assimilation to American ideas, language, and customs has been slow, and even yet is incomplete.

## LOUISIANA AND THE SECESSION MOVEMENT OF THE EARLY FIFTIES

By M. J. WHITE

This paper is the result of a study of the attitude of the people of Louisiana toward the various issues that arose in Congress during the course of the territorial struggle of 1846-50, and of sentiment in the State regarding the acceptance or rejection of the compromise measures of 1850.

The absence of dissatisfaction comparable to that which produced the secession movements in the neighboring state of Mississippi, and in South Carolina and Georgia, invites inquiry as to what was the state of public opinion in Louisiana regarding the great questions that were agitating her sister states of the South. At the outset of this inquiry the following excerpt from a letter written to John C. Calhoun, Jan. 12, 1849, may prove of interest:

I fear for Louisiana. New Orleans is almost Free Soil in their opinions. The population is one-half Northern Agents, another  $\frac{1}{4}$  or  $\frac{1}{3}$  are foreigners. The remnant are Creoles who cannot be made to comprehend their danger until the negroes are being taken out of the fields. . . . The theory there too is that by restricting slavery to its present bounds the Lands and negroes of Louisiana would be enhanced in value. . . . Louisiana will be the last if at all to strike for the defense of the South.<sup>1</sup>

This passage speaks for itself.

In 1850, something over one-half of the total white

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<sup>1</sup> J. F. Jameson (ed.), "The Correspondence of John C. Calhoun," in *Amer. Hist. Assn., Report*, 1899, II, 1188-1190.

population was born outside the State, and about one-half of these, or about one-fourth of the total white population, was natives of foreign countries,<sup>2</sup> and this large foreign element undoubtedly had its effect upon sentiment in general. As for the Creoles, circumstances were such that it would be extremely difficult to distinguish their attitude from that of the other natives during the period under review. The testimony of Olmsted tends to bear out the statements of Calhoun's informant regarding the Free Soil leanings of at least a substantial portion of the population of New Orleans.<sup>3</sup>

A comparison of presidential election returns from 1840 to 1852, inclusive, shows, after making due allowance for the influence of the personal factor in politics, that the voters of the State were about equally divided between the Whig and Democratic parties.<sup>4</sup> The rich sugar parishes in the alluvial sections of the State were, naturally, the centers of Whig influence; the Democrats were relatively the stronger in the pine-woods regions, particularly in the newer parishes in the northwestern part of the commonwealth. In considering the sentiment of the people of Louisiana toward the compromise measures, the influence of this large Whig element in the population must be taken into consideration. Southern Whigs, for the most part planters and the representatives of property interests, were conservative and, hence, opposed to all forms of radicalism. In Congress they had been forced to coöperate with the Democrats, and take extreme southern ground, in order to prevent the passage of the Wilmot Proviso, but after Whig success in the presidential election of 1848, they gave up this alliance, the reason being that they confidently expected to be able to carry some influence with General Taylor, a southern man and a slave owner, and thereby prevent

<sup>2</sup> Census of 1850.

<sup>3</sup> Frederick Law Olmsted, *Journey in the Seaboard Slave States*, 587 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Whig Almanac*, 1849, 58; *ibid.*, 1853, 55.

the passage of legislation inimical to their section.<sup>5</sup> President Taylor, advised by Seward,<sup>6</sup> soon took a course of action that laid him open to the charge of being a southern man with northern principles, and affairs again assumed a dangerous aspect.<sup>7</sup> The death of the President, July 9, 1850, relieved a very dangerous political situation, and the elevation of the more pacific Fillmore to the presidency, together with the substitution of Webster for Seward in the office of secretary of state, opened the way to adjustment.<sup>8</sup> Without the aid of southern Whigs compromise would have been impossible,<sup>9</sup> and it was mainly due to their efforts that the secession movements in Georgia, Mississippi, and in South Carolina were crushed, and the acceptance of the Congressional settlement brought about in the lower South.<sup>10</sup>

During the latter stages of the territorial controversy Louisiana was represented at Washington in the Senate by Solomon W. Downs, familiarly known as General Downs, and Pierre Soulé, Democrats; in the House of Representatives, by Charles M. Conrad, Whig, and John H. Hermanson, Emile La Sere, and Isaac E. Morse, Democrats.<sup>11</sup> Of the senators, Downs was conspicuous in his support of compromise, especially after the report

<sup>5</sup> Toombs to Crittenden, Coleman, *Life of John J. Crittenden*, I, 335, 336.

<sup>6</sup> B. P. Poore, *Reminiscences of Sixty Years in the National Metropolis*, I, 370; Rhodes, *History of the United States*, I, 109.

<sup>7</sup> Nathan Sargent, *Public Men and Events* . . . , II, 354; Coleman, *Life of Crittenden*, I, 364-366.

<sup>8</sup> Poore, *Reminiscences*, I, 384; Henry W. Hilliard, *Politics and Pen Pictures at Home and Abroad*, 231; James G. Blaine, *Twenty Years of Congress*, I, 95.

<sup>9</sup> U. B. Phillips, "The Southern Whigs, 1834-1854," in *Essays in American History Dedicated to Frederick Jackson Turner*, 203-229.

<sup>10</sup> U. B. Phillips, *Georgia and State Rights*, 166; J. W. Garner, "The First Struggle Over Secession in Mississippi," *Mississippi Historical Society, Publications*, IV, 98, 99; Henry D. Capers, *Life and Times of C. G. Memminger*, 200-203.

<sup>11</sup> 31st Congress, 1st session, *Congressional Globe*, 1.

of the Committee of Thirteen, of which he was a member.<sup>12</sup> Soulé was equally conspicuous in his opposition to the adjustment, denouncing it in the most bitter terms, and declaring that it constituted no compromise at all.<sup>13</sup> The representatives, to quote a local newspaper, "followed the dictates of their own minds and voted according to the teachings of their own consciences."<sup>14</sup> Only one, Isaac E. Morse, took up a particularly ultra attitude in regard to the measures that made up the settlement.<sup>15</sup>

Sentiment among Southerners was in general hostile to the Wilmot Proviso, and Governor Johnson's strong condemnation of the bill, in his message to the Louisiana legislature in 1848, probably touched a responsive chord in the mind of nearly every man of southern extraction in the State.<sup>16</sup> The *Picayune*, however, was not unduly alarmed at this time if we can take seriously its "eleventh hour confession," that it had always been of the opinion that the Proviso could not by any process of political maneuvering be forced through the Senate even though it might pass the House.<sup>17</sup> Public opinion in regard to the proposed compromise measures, as reflected by the press of New Orleans, shows little agreement. For instance, the *Picayune* did not think highly of the Clay proposal. While admitting that it contained some good features, it was opposed to the Texas-New Mexico settlement, which it regarded as the Congressional stumbling block.<sup>18</sup> The *True Delta* opposed the passage of these measures in a single bill, considering such action inexpedient, dangerous, and anti-republican. It saw no objection to the Utah and New Mexico bills, was op-

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 251, 945; *ibid.*, app., 636.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, app., 630, 783.

<sup>14</sup> *Daily True Delta*, Oct. 3, 1850.

<sup>15</sup> 31 Cong., 1 sess., *Cong. Globe*, app., 630, 783.

<sup>16</sup> House Journal, 1848, 7-15.

<sup>17</sup> *Daily Picayune*, Jan. 19, 1850.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, Feb. 3, 1850.



posed to the bill abolishing the slave trade in the District of Columbia, and in place of the proposed fugitive-slave bill it advocated a bill providing for compensation from the federal treasury for slave property stolen or carried away. The acceptance or rejection of the suggested Texas boundary settlement it regarded as a matter concerning Texas alone, and it supported the California admission bill, stating that the concurring testimony of many Southerners, residents or sojourners there, afforded ample proof that slavery could not be introduced with profit. In regard to this last matter it admitted that it took direct issue with most of its contemporaries.<sup>19</sup> All in all, while many had a strong feeling that the North should be admonished, expressions were generally favorable to the preservation of the Union.<sup>20</sup>

In response to a call issued by Mississippi,<sup>21</sup> delegates from nine of the Southern States met in convention at Nashville, Tennessee, June 3, 1850,<sup>22</sup> while bitter debate upon the compromise measures was occupying the attention of congressmen and of the public at large. They met in order to consider the subject of southern relations to the Union. The moderates in attendance were able to prevent the adoption either of the program of the Secessionists,<sup>23</sup> or the Calhoun plan for the formation of a southern party for the defense of southern rights,<sup>24</sup> and the members adjourned after drawing up twenty-eight resolutions, the most important of which demanded the extension of the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific.<sup>25</sup> Louisiana took no part in these deliberations. Gov. Isaac Johnson, in his message to the legislature, Jan. 21,

<sup>19</sup> *Daily True Delta*, Oct. 20, 1850.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec. 30, 1850; *Daily Picayune*, Jan. 20, 1850.

<sup>21</sup> *Laws of Mississippi*, 1850, 521-526.

<sup>22</sup> *Journal of the Convention*, 25-29.

<sup>23</sup> See speech by Beverly Tucker of Virginia, in *Southern Quarterly Review*, II, 218-223.

<sup>24</sup> *Republican Daily Banner* and *Nashville Whig*, June 13, 1850.

<sup>25</sup> *Journal of the Convention*, 3-8.



1850, expressed feelings of lively satisfaction over the fact that the South was posing herself in defense of her rights. He hoped that a firm, united, and concerted action might avert the threatened danger to the Union, and he advised the legislature to adopt the proper means for sending delegates to Nashville.<sup>26</sup> His successor, Joseph Walker, inaugurated Jan. 28, 1850, concurred in what had been done by his predecessor.<sup>27</sup> The legislature, made up of a Democratic senate and a Whig house,<sup>28</sup> could come to no agreement in the matter. By the liberal use of obstructive tactics the House was able to delay action, and no delegates were chosen.<sup>29</sup> All available evidence leads to the conclusion that the public at large was either out of sympathy with, or indifferent to, the convention.

On Sept. 14, 1850, perhaps the most pronounced instance of an expression of public opinion that manifested itself in Louisiana during the course of the territorial struggle occurred when citizens of Claiborne, Bossier, Union, Jackson, and Bienville parishes, for the most part Democratic strongholds, held a Southern Rights meeting and barbecue, at Mt. Lebanon, parish of Bienville. Resolutions expressing decided opposition to the Clay measures, congratulations over the failure of the Omnibus Bill, earnest eulogies on the Union, approval of the proceedings of the Nashville Convention, and a determination to stand firm in demanding the extension of the line of 36° 30' to the Pacific, were adopted. The most extreme sentiments that this occasion called forth were uttered by the Rev. Dr. Scott, of Jackson Parish, who said, in substance, that a revolution was taking place in the affairs of the country, and that the people of the South should take a decided stand, and that upon 36° 30', or they would be overwhelmed by the worse than vandals

<sup>26</sup> House Journal, 1850, 6-12.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 24-27.

<sup>28</sup> *Daily True Delta*, Nov. 23, 1850.

<sup>29</sup> House Journal, 1850, 43, 55-58, 63-64, 120-177.

of the North. He could not understand why the people of Louisiana were so inert. Were they not as vitally interested as the rest of the South? They were kindling a spirit "in the pine woods" and he hoped it would spread until every patriot was aroused from his lethargy. That all in attendance did not agree with Dr. Scott is attested by the fact that several of the speakers spoke in favor of the compromise.<sup>30</sup>

While this meeting was in progress Congress was passing, as separate bills, the very measures that had called forth the resolutions. Sentiment in Louisiana was for the most part in favor of their acceptance; the Whigs, and a majority of the Democrats, who followed a course independently of southern Democrats in general, being strong in their approval.<sup>31</sup> The *Picayune* pointed out that the true policy for the South was to accept the adjustment at once, as a basis of action, and to rally upon it as a final settlement. Northern agitations against the Fugitive Slave Bill and southern agitations for the encouragement of secession were alike denounced.<sup>32</sup> The *True Delta*, commenting upon unfavorable agitation in the South, took the ground that the compromise measures had become the law of the land and had, hence, ceased to be debatable. Why, it asked, is the agitation kept up? The discontented portion of the press denied having any object dangerous to the Union in view. It would like to have them come out openly and explain why they were disturbing the public mind by "dangerous appeals and dark innuendoes." The whole question, however disguised, it stated, narrowed down to union or disunion.<sup>33</sup> The *Delta* took the stand that secession was in-

<sup>30</sup> *Weekly Delta*, Sept. 30, 1850.

<sup>31</sup> John Slidell to Howell Cobb, in U. B. Phillips (ed.), "The Correspondence of Robert Toombs, Alexander H. Stephens, and Howell Cobb," in *Amer. Hist. Assn., Report*, 1911, II, 275-277.

<sup>32</sup> *Daily Picayune*, Oct. 18, 1850.

<sup>33</sup> *Daily True Delta*, Oct. 22 and Nov. 15, 1850.

expedient. "How can you secede when one-half your own people are opposed to you," it asked. The Union might be divided, but states, districts, counties, towns, families, never. "We think, therefore, that even if disunion or secession were not pregnant with innumerable dangers and evils, that the great want of harmony in the sentiments of the people of the South renders such a result impossible. And we further believe that if our people are united in feeling that they will never be driven to disunion to obtain what they may ask at the hands of the federal government." <sup>34</sup>

The return of Senator Downs to Louisiana was made the occasion for the expression of favorable sentiment in regard to the legislation passed during the late session of Congress. Downs meetings, as they were called, attended by citizens irrespective of political affiliations, were held at Providence and at Monroe, at which Whigs and Democrats coöperated in drawing up resolutions approving and endorsing his course at Washington.<sup>35</sup> This movement culminated in a monster mass meeting, held in the St. Charles theater, New Orleans, on the night of Nov. 27, 1850. Senator Downs and United States Senator Henry S. Foote of Mississippi, the leader in the campaign against secession in that state, were present and spoke in favor of accepting the compromise. Resolutions declaring attachment to the Union, and in favor of the above-mentioned measures were adopted by the nonpartisan gathering.<sup>36</sup>

The only serious attempt at stirring up sentiment antagonistic to the compromise, and thereby whipping the people of Louisiana into line with the secessionists in other states of the South, was made by Pierre Soulé, the junior senator at Washington. His course of conduct at the federal capital, where he had had ample opportunity

<sup>34</sup> *Weekly Delta*, Sept. 25, 1850.

<sup>35</sup> *Daily True Delta*, Oct. 22 and Nov. 15, 1850.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 24, 1850.

to take counsel with southern radicals in Congress, together with rumors that he intended to return home and test the fidelity of his constituents to the Union, were distasteful to many, especially the Whigs, who charged him with openly advocating disunion. His political associates in the State, desiring evidence with which to meet and refute these charges, wrote him a letter, but his only reply was that he had already expressed his sentiments during the Congressional debates, that he did not retract one word then uttered, and, moreover, he was not to be tricked by the wiles of those who were bent upon breaking up the Democratic party. From then on he was deeply embroiled with the bulk of the Louisiana Democracy.<sup>37</sup> The events that followed seem to confirm the opinion that the Whigs and others had formed of his intentions. One was the appearance of a decidedly radical article, generally attributed to Soulé's pen, that appeared in the columns of the *Courier*. This was evidently a part of a well-laid plan upon the part of Soulé and his followers to commit the Louisiana Democrats to radical views, and it caused the resignation of the editor, Col. P. K. Wagner, mentioned as "the oldest and ablest champion of the Democratic party in Louisiana," who declared, under his own signature, that he resigned rather than propagate principles that he considered treasonable.<sup>38</sup> Another was Soulé's return from Washington, his intentions heralded in advance of his coming by the *Southern Press*, a newspaper printed at Washington by southern extremists.<sup>39</sup>

Soon after his arrival in the city he was given a serenade by his friends, and took the occasion thus offered to deliver an address against the compromise adjustment. He stated that it deprived the South of her rights, and charged that "deleterious" Yankee influence and the

<sup>37</sup> *Daily True Delta*, Nov. 3 and Dec. 8, 1850.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec. 8, 1850.

<sup>39</sup> *Daily Picayune*, Oct. 19, 1850.

combination of the press, "with a few honorable exceptions," had prevented the truth of the matter being made known, and that calumny and misrepresentation had been resorted to in order to put him in a false position before his fellow-citizens. The newspaper that furnished these facts commented upon this speech as follows: "We make allowances for excited feelings and convivial outbursts, and hope, for the reputation of Senator Soulé himself, that he may be able to explain away the objectionable portion of this most singular ebullition."<sup>40</sup>

Upon the night of Nov. 30, 1850, a Soulé mass meeting was held in the ballroom of the St. Louis Exchange. It was preceded by a street parade, the participants marching behind a brass band and carrying a banner upon which was the following inscription: "Patriots of the South, Stand Firm, 1850." In an address Soulé indignantly denied that those who had opposed the compromise measures during the congressional discussion were hostile to the Union, and reiterated his former statements regarding the adjustment. He was clearly upon the defensive. Other proceedings consisted in the adoption of a single resolution expressing confidence in the adopted citizens of Louisiana, probably an expedient of friends who sought to help him out of a bad situation by trying to create the impression that opposition was occasioned by his foreign birth. A hostile newspaper ridiculed the committee in charge of this affair, calling it "the ludicrous admixture of Naturalized citizens with the old lees of the Native American faction."<sup>41</sup>

If Soulé had intended making a party question of the controversy, and all evidence seems to warrant the conclusion that he had, he failed dismally.<sup>42</sup> At no time during the preceding months was there any prospect of stirring up secession sentiment. As early as Sept. 23,

<sup>40</sup> *Daily True Delta*, Oct. 18, 1850.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec. 1, 1850.

<sup>42</sup> *Daily Picayune*, Oct. 31, 1850.



1850, one New Orleans editor had declared that there were no secessionists in Louisiana "unless there be a few more left of those South Carolina and Georgia gentlemen, up there in the Ouachita pine woods, who formerly undertook, with so little success, to lecture Gen. Downs on texts taken from the oracles of the world they left."<sup>43</sup> Later on, in October, another comment, on the secession movement in other states of the South, was as follows:

But such fierce excitement as rages in South Carolina, Georgia, and parts of Alabama and Mississippi, which presents nothing that the public mind can grasp at with a hope of improvement in the union — nothing tangible but resistance to law at all hazards and without regard to consequences — offers nothing which the people of the South ought to encourage, but which the people of this State, among whom it has not yet intruded itself for discord and disunion, will resist and keep out of their borders with all their strength.<sup>44</sup>

In November it was confidently asserted that "There is not a parish in this state animated by a wish hostile to the permanency of this Union; nor do we believe one hundred men could be found from the Red River raft to the Balize, willing to avow disunion sentiments."<sup>45</sup> After the failure of the secession movement in Georgia, the Georgia Platform was hailed as the one upon which every true friend of the South must be prepared to stand.<sup>46</sup> Louisiana had accepted the compromise adjustment of 1850.

<sup>43</sup> Quoted in the *Weekly Delta*, Sept. 23, 1850.

<sup>44</sup> *Daily Picayune*, Oct. 23, 1850.

<sup>45</sup> *Daily True Delta*, Nov. 15, 1850.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec. 21, 1850.



## GEOGRAPHIC INFLUENCES IN THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY

BY FREDERICK V. EMERSON

It might seem as superfluous to begin with a definition of geography, as to give one of history or algebra, for instance, except for the fact that secondary-school geography, with which we are all familiar, has a scope and content somewhat different from university geography, a much greater difference, I imagine, than exists for example between secondary-school history or algebra and the university phases of these subjects. The university concept of geography will perhaps be made clearer by a brief account of its development.

The acceptance of the theory of evolution may be said to mark the beginning of modern geography. Previously geography had been very largely synonymous with exploration and its concomitant map-making, but with an understanding of evolution, the influence of what is sometimes called "physical environment" began to be more and more appreciated. Travelers, of whom Humboldt is a type, had accumulated considerable data so that the responses of people to earth factors could be studied. The outcome was Ritter's definition of geography as the study of the earth as the home of man, which is today the essential definition of university geography.

Naturally different emphases are placed on various phases of geography in different countries. Geography is to be found in practically every German university but usually in close connection with some other department such as geology, anthropology, or applied economics. In England geography until recently has been almost sy-

nonymous with travel and exploration, a response to the widespread colonial interests of the nation. A reflection of this is seen in the pages of the *Journal* of the Royal Geographic Society which abounds with travelers' tales, some pertinent, but containing many details of hunts, camps, and what they had for meals — much good material but requiring thorough sifting. Recently the school of geography at Oxford has published some good, clean-cut work. For graduation theses in this school students take a small area, describe the surface, soil, and climate and then trace the influence of these factors from the earliest recorded time to the present. However logical, direct thinking along geographic lines is perhaps best developed in France. A splendid series of monographs has appeared, covering among other regions the Plain of Flanders, Brittany, the Loire Valley, and the Paris Basin. Each monograph includes a thorough treatment of the geology, surface, soils, flora, and climate, and then a history of the region with special reference to geographic factors.

In the United States, almost without exception geography has developed in university departments of geology. The work of American geologists on the land forms so well shown in the West and on glaciation virtually created a new line of investigations which are described by the term physiography or geomorphology, and from the physiographers the ranks of the geographers are largely recruited. The trend of American geography during the last twelve years is well shown in the programs of the Association of American Geographers. The earlier programs consisted largely of physiographic discussions, such as problems of stream erosion, glacial studies, and meteorological investigations. For the last four or five years a rapidly increasing proportion of these programs has been given to papers which treat largely of anthropogeographic problems and investigations.

Professor Davis of Harvard, who is a leader both of the technical physiography and of the newer humanized geography has proposed an elaborate system by which to arrange the content of geography. He would separate the subject into two coördinate divisions; one the inorganic, now commonly known as physical geography, and the other the organic responses for which he has coined the term ontography. Thus in a geographic treatment of, say the lower Mississippi, he would treat under one head the behavior of the river and under the other head treat the various influences of the river upon human affairs. In short, geography, according to this concept is largely a study of *relations* rather than a study of distribution and location. These factors are, of course, fundamental in geography but they are likewise important in many other subjects. The distribution of votes as showing political parties, for example, is clearly a historical topic. But if there is made a comparison of votes in, say, the mountains and the limestone lowlands of Tennessee, the geographic factors of soil and topography must enter into the problem.

This somewhat lengthy introduction has seemed advisable in order clearly to set forth the general working idea of college and university geography. I emphasize the content of university geography rather than secondary-school geography since the college and university concept of a subject usually in considerable measure becomes stamped on the secondary-school phase.

It seems to me that geography is most intimately connected with history from the economic standpoint of history. Economic and industrial conditions usually have close connection with earth factors and they are, of course, important factors in history. On the other hand, geographic factors are not without influence on the social and political phases of history, but the relations are not so obvious as in the case of economic factors. Take a

few cases in point. The line of twenty inches of annual rainfall passes through central Kansas and Nebraska. Less than twenty inches means precarious wheat and corn, more means good crops. Moreover, the rainfall in the subarid belt and, in fact, the humid belt of this region appears to occur in cycles. In general about once in seven years there are a few years of drought. It cannot be a mere coincidence that populism had its notable development in Kansas during the dry years of this precipitation cycle, although it should not be forgotten that, superadded to the dry years, there was the general economic depression of that time. I fancy that few watch the crop weather much more closely than the administration leaders at Washington for the average voter will punish the party in power for any unfavorable crop weather. The influence of the weather on the up-state vote in New York is a matter known to every one interested in the politics of that state.

Somewhat along another line, it seems to me that a close study of the Mormon church in Utah, at least on its secular side, would show interesting responses to an arid climate. For example, the Mormon hierarchy has maintained a firm hold on its adherents and I believe this control is in part at least a response to the necessary irrigation in an arid region. Irrigation makes for small farms and a concentrated rural population, and such a concentration lends itself to effective control by a central body. It was Hilgard, I believe, who suggested that the ancient high civilization in southwestern Asia arose from the cooperation necessary in irrigating that arid region.

Again, when the present history of settlement in the arid West is written, a common mistaken response to geographic conditions must be noted. Eastern settlers are accustomed to select a somewhat-heavy soil like the limestone soils of the Blue Grass region or the silts and clays of the wheat belts, soils of proved productiveness

in the humid regions. Eastern settlers in the arid West have chosen such soils only to meet with failure in many cases because these soils absorb and hold moisture very poorly. Here the light, sandy soils, which are less productive in humid regions, are the productive type because of their excellent water-holding capacity. This recalls a mistaken geographic response so often noted in the settlement of prairies in the Middle West. The eastern settlers almost invariably chose woodland which here was found largely in the rougher country along the streams. The pioneer's belief was that the prairies, which did not produce timber, could not be productive for crop purposes.

It is perhaps safe to say that a study of the votes cast in almost any state will show some geographic differentiation of parties especially if the state has strongly contrasted districts. Schaper's study, "Sectionalism and Representation in South Carolina,"<sup>1</sup> is a fine illustration. You will recall that he traces the sharp differences between the Coastal Plain, or "Low Country," and the Piedmont, or "High Country," differences in customs, ideas, origins, farm tenure, and politics, and that with the invention of the cotton gin and the spread of upland cotton the two sections became more homogeneous politically. Phillips, in his study, "Georgia and State Rights,"<sup>2</sup> brings out essentially the same facts for Georgia, and Ambler, in his "Cleavage Between Eastern and Western Virginia," has set forth the sharp differences between the strongly contrasted physiographic districts of that state.

Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia, in fact all the southern states, include strongly contrasted regions, and very often different, and often antagonistic, ideas and interests have developed in these areas of contrasted soil, topog-

<sup>1</sup> Printed in Amer. Hist. Assn., *Report*, 1900, I, 237-463.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 1901, II.



raphy, and industries. Even Louisiana, which outside the state is commonly believed to be somewhat uniform, has two well-marked regions, the northern hills and the southern plains which are often politically antagonistic. Illinois, a typical prairie state, which seems to the casual observer somewhat uniform, nevertheless has two well-recognized divisions, based mainly on soils and topography. Northern Illinois is glaciated, and its soils are very productive. Southern Illinois, locally termed "Egypt," is less productive and more eroded. Northern Illinois was accessible to northern settlement from the Great Lakes route, while the southern part of the state was settled largely from the border southern states. The well-known ante-bellum political differences between these sections has a marked geographic background.

The geographic distribution of slavery, both general and local, presents extremely interesting and comparatively unworked problems. The institution was established along the Atlantic littoral both north and south and by the time of the Revolution it was practically extinct in the North and growing in the South because it paid better in the South. In the South it became predominant in certain localities and was all but unknown in others. The wave of dense slave population extended from the Coastal Plain to the Piedmont and later from the Piedmont to the Black Belt. In the Cotton South the spread was conditioned by favorable soils. Of course, the development was somewhat sporadic; here for some reason there were few slaves in a fertile region and there in a rather infertile district the census reports show a somewhat dense slave population. Creed, nativity, markets, and the local economic organization were important factors in the distribution of slaves. Local studies of slavery should be very interesting since on the whole the institution was sensitive to geographic influences.

In the Mississippi Basin the influences of the rivers



are well worth study. The larger geographic responses have long been understood. The influences of the Mississippi System, together with the easy portages to the Great Lakes, on French colonization have long been appreciated, as well as the separatist movement of Kentucky and Tennessee which looked forward to unobstructed use of the lower Mississippi. A local study of the geographic influences of the Missouri River in Missouri showed a high percentage of settlers from Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, and the Carolinas, many of whom followed the easy route down the Cumberland and Ohio and up the Missouri. Many brought their slaves and their politics with them, and were, naturally, different from the people in the northern part of Missouri who came largely from states north of the Ohio.

There are several difficulties in correlating geographic factors and history and there is abundant need of caution. Economic history is more adaptable to geographic interpretation than political history, but the former offers fewer available data. Then, geographic influence is but one of many factors affecting the course of history. There are racial, social, economic, and psychological factors, not to name others, which must be considered, each mutually acting and interacting. Since the specialist's view is necessarily narrow he is liable to overemphasis. Then, again, there is a constant temptation to too easy generalization. A case in point is the oft-repeated statement that the picturesque scenery of Greece, the mountains and the sea, will account for the aesthetic development of the Greeks but it is Mahaffy, I think, who calls attention to the fact that Greek literature contains scarcely a reference to these features in a literary sense; rather the mountains are to be scaled and the sea to be combated. English writers often assert that the success of immigrants from England to America is largely due to our colder, more stimulating climate. There may be some

truth in this but the British immigrant is usually a picked man and there is open to him an economic opportunity that is denied in the mother country.

A question only to be touched here is how much technical geography is necessary to the interpretation and teaching of history, and, of course, there are so many varying factors that the question can never be categorically answered. The historian can state, for example, that the Black Belt in Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia had a soil favorable to cotton, and hence the high density of slave population was there. Or he may state that the Black Belt has a rolling surface, a rich limestone soil with a high humus content, which content gives fertility and also the name of the belt. Or one may go further and illustrate with a diagram the evolution of the belts of the upper Coastal Plain. Doubtless I am prejudiced but it seems to me that the historian can well afford to give some attention not only to soils, topography, and climate but could even afford space and time for elementary explanatory descriptions for the purpose of impressing these features on the attention and memory. Especially is this true if the factors in question have played any important part.

This paper is admittedly fragmentary, both because of time and space limitations, but especially because so much work on the correlation of earth factors and human affairs yet remains to be done. The geographer should be able to set forth the surface, soil, drainage, and climate of a given region. He may also suggest how these factors have influenced human activity but his suggestions should be finally checked by and must be passed upon by, investigators in the social sciences. If such coöperation shall contribute to clearer, more explicit, and more complete interpretation and teaching of history it is surely well worth while.

## GUARDING OUR FUTURE HISTORY

BY ALFRED D. ST. AMANT

As members of a historical association we are interested in history as it is written. It is fitting that we should delve into the past and regale ourselves with its glorious meaning to the race. It is proper, also, that we seize the opportunities that the present occasion affords, to learn of new discoveries of historical matter and obtain new interpretations of this or that already-known historical event. And it is right that we should recognize the cultural value of a better understanding of history on the part of the average man or woman. If all this is done properly we are able to justify our existence as an Association, and to show sufficient reason for gathering here in this City whose every street or alley yields bountiful treasures in which we may delight.

But as the final justification of any science lies in its creation of useful arts, history must be viewed as a part of a greater science as well as a branch of knowledge of value for its own sake. History, as a record of the lives of nations and races, discloses its greatest possibilities only when it records experiences the interpretation of which will serve as a guide for man in his present and future efforts.

This attitude towards history has been noticeable for many years in an increasing number of people, and there is hardly an example of the teaching, in our schools today, of an art unaccompanied by a treatment of its historical development. Even those extreme utilitarians who see no practical value in history as a subject of study never fail to dwell largely on the historical develop-

ment of their particular arts, thus leading many to suspect that a little more familiarity with other practical things in the world might give a greater appreciation of history in general.

The *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, in its article on history, says in part:

But the tendency to look at things historically is not merely the attitude of men of science. Our outlook upon life differs in just this particular from that of preceding ages. We recognize the unstable nature of the whole social fabric, and are therefore more and more capable of transforming it. . . . Thus our whole society not only bears the marks of its evolution but shows its growing consciousness of the fact in the most evident of its arts.

And again:

We do not regard the national state as the ultimate and final product which men once saw in the Roman Empire. It has hardly come into being before forces are evident which aim at its destruction. Internationalism has gained ground in Europe in recent years and Socialism itself, which is based upon a distinct interpretation of History, is regarded by its followers as merely a stage in human progress, like those which have gone before it.

With the present age abounding in programs for the general welfare it behooves us to take cognizance of them and to study their possible effects. What chance is there for the adoption of a program? How will one gain success or meet with failure?

There was a time when the inspiration of a Solon or the vision of a Lycurgus was all that was necessary to give a people beneficial law; and, even in later democracies, a Pericles, with definite plans and a reasonable regard for the power of the voting class could definitely plan his nation's history, as far at least as its internal affairs were concerned. But while some remnants of this old order of things may still exist, they are fast passing away and an idea no longer has to appeal to a single

sovereign or a deified leader only. Seldom do we in the present, and never will we in the future, find a czar's ukase efficiently reforming society.

The new sovereign is a many-headed creature with eyes that see in many different directions. While his final good is common to all his parts, never do all of his minds see this final good at once and, at the present time, each part seems to be striving to dominate and force its immediate interests to the front. Sometimes, attracted by the bright light of a new appealing idea or repelled by the blind fear of a shadow, the creature lurches altogether in one direction while at other times it sways in its tracks with each conflicting interest pointing to a separate road.

Of course all of us feel confident that in a democracy the right will finally predominate and that with every new struggle and after every mistake a step is made in the direction of progress. There are leaders in every group who, while guiding the group as much as possible in the direction pointed out by their own interests, see to it that the interests of other groups are not furthered at the expense of the one. This aids towards progress, for finally, through compromises between groups and the increasing cunning of the individuals of each group, all will work more nearly in a single direction.

But we may well say "How long oh Lord, how long?" In all the history of our country what appreciable improvement have we made in our system of taxation? Can we not guess what the individual's views of the tariff are when we learn to what particular industrial group he belongs and where the real or fancied interests of this group's financial leaders lie? How many men with strong views on the great questions relating to public finances have ever spent a single hour in a study of the principles involved therein? Is it not true that men, the majority of men, who are totally incapable of



speaking authoritatively on their own line of work will hardly hesitate to give a decided opinion on questions of local public policy, of national methods of business control, or of international law? Do those who agree that there *are* better authorities than themselves concede that authority to expert students of the subject, or to spellbinders and demagogues? Is it the sincere, honest, rational newspaper that has the largest following or is it that saffron-tinged monster with an india-rubber conscience?

We might say that even this makes for progress; for, in the competition of the leaders, the successful will strive to show enough good results to justify their success. This is true, because no sane man, no matter what his resourcefulness and cunning may be, can view complacently the possibility of a political revolution among his followers. He knows that once the tie is broken the crowd will just as blindly go in the opposite direction and that there will be none so poor as to do reverence to him or any of his achievements.

To those who feel that this is good I will say that they are content to endure many unnecessary evils for the sake of an ultimate good. They see, in the acknowledged fact that democracy is superior to any other known form of government, a justification for belittling its faults, which, while temporary when time is considered by ages, are serious nevertheless; and they are content with a machine whose outer form is good but whose internal mechanism will operate in the right direction only a little more than half the time. We should realize not only that by careful planning many of the defects of democracy can be remedied, but we must see that the time has come when these defects must be remedied; for the voter, who but yesterday was willing to accept a very indirect form of democracy, is today not only asking for but demanding a more direct form.



The new sovereign is realizing his power more than ever before. Just as the youth who feels his muscles hardening takes delight in feats requiring strength and glories in throwing an older companion, so does this young giant sometimes establish his own prowess at the expense of boon companions that are almost as powerful as he is and whose strength could so easily be utilized instead of being rendered useless. Also there are always men and interests goading this new Sampson on, using him often to accomplish the ends which their own selfish desires point out and he, too often, flattered by their praises goes ahead blindly battling for anything which he is told is his cause.

What a pity it is that such power should be so wasted, or even worse than wasted, in so many cases! One might say that these are just youthful trials of strength and that with each new trial greater strength develops, thereby adding the possibilities of greater future achievements in the right direction. But is the youth not already stronger than any possible adversary? Is there any danger that with careful training in the use of all his muscles to one end, defeat will ever be his portion? And is it not true that the time has arrived when this training can be given?

Never before has the time been so propitious, for the educational *Zeitgeist* is *efficiency*. Education must fit for life in the workaday world and every part of the school curriculum must undergo this acid test. In the country schools the principal stress is laid on agriculture, and in those places where the industrial system is more complex demands are constantly being made for a broader choice so that each child may study that which will be of the greatest practical benefit in his or her future life. In accordance with this spirit let us see to what extent a training for intelligent citizenship is practical.

In the first place, the training of the city youth and

that of the youth from the country must be different in many respects in order to fit for the very different occupations in which the two will be engaged; but, in the matter of training for intelligent citizenship the preparation in each case should lead to the same end. Some of our school children will be farmers, some mechanics, some professional men, some housewives; but all will need an understanding of the problems of state and nation.

In the second place, the principles on which a thorough understanding of public problems rests are in many respects identical with those which should underlie our system of industrial education. According to a recent statement of one of the higher officials of the United States Department of Agriculture, the principal defect in our agricultural training at the present time is that we have too much agronomy and too little economics. The same lack of knowledge which makes the so-called trained farmer little more than an efficient farm worker and leaves him dependent on a chance market and poor local credit systems, will also cause him to waste his public energy in clamoring after government valorization of cotton and arbitrary laws which will change this earth into a farmers' paradise. The same additional training along broader principles of industry will at once make the farmer a real business man and a broad-minded intelligent citizen. Today's utilitarian does not realize this.

In the third place, the most practical subject to teach in the school is that which will give a needed training that cannot well be given in any other way. In this connection it can be said that there is hardly anything in which the home, as well as the ordinary business activities of the average person, supplies so little real training as in a broad comprehension of citizenship. Ordinary selfish desires and a reasonably small ambition might

cause an individual to seek the advantage to be gained through a better knowledge of his work; but what basic desire is it that will prompt him to understand the broader problems of the nation and the race? That there are many publications which supply information on big topics in an interesting way there is no doubt, but on what basis is the individual to judge the merits of a question without a reasonable knowledge of the scientific principles on which it rests? There is little use in going back to the hope that the sane leader might be relied on to save the day in the future; for we are developing individualism without a noticeable improvement in real rationality, except as we oftentimes find a more selfishly canny individual where one with blind faith has heretofore existed.

Now let us see to what extent the public schools are supplying this need. In the first place a youth trained by a teacher who is almost totally untrained in civics, economics, sociology, and history is not likely to find himself a great deal better off on account of his classroom association than if he had listened to the political arguments at the village store. While the average man feels that his judgment on matters social and economic is quite as good as that of the best of public thinkers, he is unfortunately wrong; and it is frequently the case that the teacher is possessed of just enough learning of this kind to exemplify Pope's famous couplet and be a real menace to the coming citizen.

There is no use in dwelling on the fact that a teacher of the youth of our country is, in the rarest cases only, required to show any knowledge whatever of the social sciences. To be sure some history and civics, in so far as a question or so on some elementary part of the machinery of the government is concerned, are generally required of a first-grade teacher; but the other social sciences are not even touched. There are notable cases of an even greater deficiency in many of our teachers'

training institutions, a good example of which is my own State Normal School which, up to very recently did not require a single term of civics, to say nothing of the fact that, with the exception of a smaller amount of history than was required in the high school, the other social sciences were entirely ignored.<sup>1</sup>

And what about our high-school courses of study? Do they contain a proper amount of social-science subject matter? Is the amount of history and civics as now given sufficient for the training of the future sovereign? Should not the economics sometimes given in a few schools be made a required subject and the whole group of social-science subjects be stressed more and arranged with the sociological aim in view? If this training were for a vocation in which the student might have some choice the answer would undoubtedly be *no*; but the youth will be a citizen whether or no, and, as an indifferent or ignorant citizen is a bad one, our chance for good citizenship, a rational sovereign, and a safe future lies in a proper regard for more definite training along this very line.

It is gratifying to know that of late school authorities generally have given more attention to this phase of education; but is the real importance of the question appreciated? The United States Bureau of Education frequently sends out matter pertaining to the social sciences in general but in some of the specific recommendations of the Bureau it is clear that something is lacking. In the matter of civics, for instance, attention is particularly called to the fact that the teaching of the mere machinery of government is lacking in value, and stress is laid on the importance of local activities of government. The statement is made that it is of far greater importance that the pupil should know the duties of the local health

<sup>1</sup> This has been changed in remodeling the courses of study, civics and sociology now being required of all students and a full social-science course being offered for special election.

officer than that he should know how the president is elected. This is well enough except that there seems to be an assumption that a knowledge of, or an interest in, local affairs will make a good citizen. That this is not necessarily true goes without saying and, furthermore, there is little doubt that a localized training is likely to be a hindrance rather than an aid to the development of a broad-minded citizen. What is recommended that will give to the future citizen as clear an understanding of the great questions of land, labor, and capital as he is required to have of the laws of physics and chemistry? What is prescribed that will enable the future voter to pass as intelligently on the merits of a question involving the welfare of the race as he is expected to pass on the merits of the breeding and the feeding of pigs?

We need to see this thing very clearly. It is important that our young men and women know much about the natural sciences and their application to industry. Some must know the detailed technicalities of every form of production, some opportunity must be given to every child to develop his talents along any line for which he may be fitted, and encouragement must be given to the great mass of boys and girls to develop along some useful, productive line; but every boy or girl will some day be a vital part of the social organism; and what the history of the future will be depends on the extent to which we prepare them today for the duties which will devolve on them. Let us realize the importance of this and demand that the main object of education be to fit the child for life; not the life of a mechanically efficient money-getter, the success of whose every effort is to be measured in pecuniary profits and whose community service is measured by the extent to which he can promote sectional prejudice and secure sectional benefits at the expense of the nation or the race, but the life of a whole-hearted and



clear-headed human being who realizes that we are here for broad service and that we may best justify our existence by working for, and in harmony with, the group.

We need no great donations for laboratories or expensive apparatus and materials; the world is our laboratory, the general activities and the institutions of mankind our apparatus, and human beings our materials. In history we have a carefully prepared notebook showing the successes and the failures of the experiments performed by and with mankind for the past several thousand years; in economics we have the guiding science of man's material welfare; and in civics we have the underlying principles of his political experiments. With a proper use of these as parts of sociology, the science of the race itself, is there any other direction in which education will as surely bring results? With such a program would there be any need for tormenting doubts when we turn our eyes to the future? On the other hand, with the greater expansion of democracy and the increasing complexity of our civilization can we afford to be too optimistic and to take a chance on whether the pages of our future history be fair or besmirched? Does it matter how we write the record? Let us think about it.



## RECENT HISTORY: TO WHAT EXTENT TO THE EXCLUSION OF OTHER HISTORY?

BY MILLEDGE L. BONHAM JR.

This topic suggests a conversation I had some years ago in the Virginia State Library with a high-school pupil.

"What are you doing here, Henry?" I asked.

"I am collecting data for my graduation essay."

"What is your subject?"

In all seriousness, he replied, "The Human Race."

My topic, then, needs to be defined. What is meant by "recent history" — the nineteenth and twentieth centuries? European history since the Industrial Revolution? Since 1900? Since the outbreak of the present war? And where is the "exclusion" to occur — in the high school or the college? In the curriculum or the course? Naturally the type of institution, the size of the history department, the library facilities, and the like will affect all of these questions. For the purposes of this paper, I shall include in the term "recent history" everything since the Franco-Prussian War. I shall glance briefly at the questions of exclusion from both course and curriculum, in both high school and college. Since history, like Henry, has for its subject the human race, I must endeavor to be equally liberal.

It is a truism that no subject is entitled to a place in the curriculum unless it does two things, namely, gives useful information and supplies mental training. History, properly taught, does both of these, but its proper teaching depends largely upon the facts selected for presentation. To tell this audience in what way history

supplies useful information would be superfluous and impertinent, but we cannot too often and too strongly emphasize the fact that the *most* useful historical data are those which explain existing institutions. Such data are valuable in direct ratio to their recency, as a general rule. Of course the origins of many of the present institutions may be traced through medieval history to the ancient world, but the most important contributions have been comparatively recent. To illustrate from the domain of economic history, the United States, in her brief life has issued about half as many patents as all other nations combined. Since, then, the recent contributions to civilization are generally the most important, they should be stressed in our history courses; usually they are *not*.

So far as I know, the plan I shall propose is not in use, in its entirety anywhere, though I have no doubt all of its various items may be found in one place or another. Tradition, the demands of other departments, lack of texts, lack of journals, lack of time, all the familiar arguments will be urged against it, so I am merely putting it forward as a scheme which I should like to see tried, and hope some time to try myself.

As far as the high school is concerned, the history courses are pretty well fixed, and seem likely to remain so for a while. We cannot expect to make any radical changes in the curriculum, so we shall have to try to modify somewhat the content of the courses. If the *Report of the Committee of Seven* be followed as a whole, even the content of the courses cannot be altered very much, but frequent opportunities will appear for contact with recent history. For example, in the course in ancient history, compare the desert march of Xenophon's Ten Thousand with the recent Turkish attack on the Suez Canal; compare the purpose, construction, and effects of the Nile-Red Sea Canal with those of the Panama

Canal; compare the economic and political causes of the Punic Wars with those of the present struggle. Naturally, the course in medieval history will offer more such opportunities, and that in modern history still more. It seems to me that in the year assigned to the period since 800, instead of devoting approximately half the session to the Middle Ages, about one-fourth would be sufficient, if the time were spent on those features of medieval civilization that have had important effects on present-day society, such as the Church, the Empire, etc., while by contrasting the economic and social life of that day with that of today the work might be vitalized. In the words of Principal Nelson of Salem, Oregon:

The pupil who begins to study what is going on around him finds that most of it is intelligible in the light of what has gone before, and will realize for himself that only by the study of the past can we understand the present. Most of us could without appreciable injury introduce more of the inductive method into our teaching of history. We begin at the wrong end and take too long in getting from the remote past down to the living present, of which the pupil is himself a part. Most of us have experienced the sudden vitalizing of historical facts that has come to us when we have stood on a battlefield or before a great historical monument; but we too often treat our pupils as if the mere textbook could be trusted to arouse the same absorbing interest.<sup>1</sup>

If, as suggested, one-fourth of the session be given to medieval history treated as I propose, another fourth should be sufficient to bring us down to the French Revolution. The rest of the year, that is, about a half session, could then be devoted to the last century and a half, with the accent on the half. Similarly, in the course in English history, most of the time should be put upon the part since the accession of Henry VII, every occasion being seized to connect the events therein with analogous or resultant ones of today; for instance, the Penal Code of

<sup>1</sup> *History Teacher's Magazine*, VI, 85.

William III and the Ulsterite opposition to Home Rule; the Instrument of Government of 1653 and the Parliament Act of 1911. Events since the occupation of Egypt should be studied in more detail and their results noted more carefully.

Time could be saved in American history by paying little attention to the details and military events of the various wars, but rather stressing their causes and results. Two of the best and most recent secondary-school texts in American history give about one-fourth of their space to wars, although these wars occupy only about one-ninth of the time covered by the books. In one case more space is given to the Civil War than to all others combined, yet these texts are far superior to some of their immediate predecessors, in which as much space was given to the Civil War as to all the rest of our history! Since distinguished historians and scholars like Hart and Van Tyne cannot agree on the merits of Secession, it seems futile to attempt to get it settled by high-school students. Jackson's Valley Campaign was a wonderful piece of strategy, but its economic, social, and political effects are not very apparent today. Such phases might well be omitted almost entirely. Fidelity to principle as illustrated by the soldiers and civilians of both sides, the economic, social, and political effects of the four-year struggle are the things to dwell upon, and it might be profitably noted that emancipation is the lineal ancestor of the Jim Crow laws. The military aspects of the Spanish-American War seem trivial when compared with the fate of Belgium, or the strategy of von Hindenberg and Grand Duke Nicholas; but a consideration of the attitude of the Filipinos towards us after seventeen years of American rule might throw a valuable light on the question of intervention in Mexico. The time saved by omitting such things as military and other nonessential occurrences could profitably be spent on

such things as tracing the evolution of the Sherman Act and connecting it with the Clayton Act and the Federal Trade Commission. Likewise, Balboa's discovery, romantic and interesting as it is of itself, can be made of personal moment to our pupils if we show the connection between Balboa and Goethals.

Where, as in Louisiana, the suggestions of the Committee of Five are followed, and only three years of history given in the high school, the same suggestions would apply, *mutatis mutandis*.

So much for the high school. When we turn to the colleges, we find that most of them require a course in medieval and modern history as a prerequisite for all other history courses, and frequently this is all the history positively demanded of college students. Hence our first problem is with the amount of recent history to be included in such a course and how to get it there. Personally, I have never been able to find a satisfactory text for the freshman course, and doubt my own ability to write one. What I should like to do, is to spend about three weeks on the contributions of ancient society to modern civilization, emphasizing such items as Greek art and philosophy, Hebrew religion, Egyptian science, Phoenician commerce, and Roman law. Next, might be treated the Germanic invasions, the Church, feudalism, the Empire, with some attention to the economic and cultural features of medieval society. Little time need be spent on the *events* of the Crusades, the Hundred Years' War, the Guelf and Ghibelline struggles; slur the events and dwell on causes and effects. In this way the Renaissance could be reached before the end of the first term. After a brief consideration of the Protestant Revolt as partly one effect of the Renaissance, with emphasis on the causes, leaders, and results, we could then turn to exploration and discovery as another effect of the Renaissance, including, of course, the other factors which ne-



cessitated the expansion of Europe. Most of the second term could be devoted to the last century and a half, and all through the year, as was suggested for the high-school courses, the connections with current civilization should be insisted on. This assumes, what is usually true, that the introductory course is the only one required in history; a corollary of which is that many students take no other course in that subject. Therefore, if they are not made to see the functioning of past institutions in the present, in that initial course, they stand an excellent chance of never realizing it. A colleague of mine once asked a student, "What influence had Rousseau on current educational practice?" "None, professor, Rousseau is dead." We are all familiar with that tendency of the student to interpret Longfellow's injunction as to the self-interment of the defunct hitherto to mean that all history is dead, and unless we can connect it with his own interests, we run the risk of his dropping history after the first year. Connect the past with the present by means of recent history and we stand a better chance of increasing the number of those who continue history. "We have found," says Mr. Chadwick, of Gary, Indiana, "that if the work can be made of social value, the interest of the pupils is enlarged, and the greater the interest, the greater is the incentive to work, and to do better work. If a pupil is led to see that his work will be of value to his parents and to other men and women that he knows, then his desire to do good work is kindled."<sup>2</sup> If Mr. Chadwick be correct (and I submit that he is) *a priori*, I should say that the more *recent* history the student gets, the more potential value will he perceive in the subject. This will tend to make him elect other courses in history and pursue them more zealously.

Where more than one year of history is required of college students, certainly more time should be devoted

<sup>2</sup> *History Teacher's Magazine*, VI, 112.



to modern history, and of the modern period the last fifty years should get the most attention. If two years is required, I should devote one to European history from ancient times to about the Industrial or the French Revolution, treated as I have suggested. The second year, one term could be given to Europe since 1815 and the other to American history since 1876. The first year would serve the purpose of laying a foundation for the second and of giving the desired background for the courses in literature, philosophy, politics, etc. Of the term spent on European history, one-third might be devoted to the period of revolt and unification, the rest to the events of the last forty-five years or so.

It is desirable that electives be offered in recent history, but the number and nature of these courses will depend largely on the organization of the history department in each institution. The question of exclusion scarcely comes in here, as only other electives would be excluded and they might, of course, be offered in alternate years.

From the foregoing it must not be supposed that I am opposed to having a considerable amount of remote history in the curriculum. On the contrary, I recently said that we need more ancient history at Louisiana State University. Courses in remote history, as those in recent history, might be offered as electives, and the plan already in use in some colleges might be extended. That is, coöperation with other departments where there are instructors qualified to give the desired courses. These should be so ordered that they might be accredited to either department, and this would tend to attract many desirable students who would not otherwise elect history. A similar effect would no doubt be felt by the other departments. For example, a course might be offered in Roman History, which could be counted either as Latin or as History. If the former, much if not most of the

parallel reading should be done in Latin sources, prescribed by that department, and vice versa. Whether the professor of history or the professor of Latin should give such a course would depend on local conditions. The same plan could be used for a course in nineteenth-century Europe, to be coördinated with the courses in comparative politics, in economic history, in French, Spanish, English, and Italian history and the corresponding literatures. No doubt, in many cases this plan would not be feasible, but in others it would, and would, I think, have the highly desirable result of bringing about a better coördination between different departments, as well as arousing the interest of students.

But since there is little probability of the complete adoption of my scheme, let me say a word more about recent history in connection with other courses. My colleague, Doctor Fleming, gives a course entitled "The Civil War and Reconstruction." We should naturally expect an authority in that period to be rather bigoted as to its importance and apt to dwell overmuch on it, especially when he is the head of the department. The contrary is true in this case. Professor Fleming treats this period from the viewpoint of national development, tracing the various factors, personal, economic, and sectional which made for Secession, together with the results of the ensuing decades. By passing over nonessentials, he saves enough time to trace the effects of this period down to the present, concluding his course with a study of Beard's text on contemporary American history. In other words, he *includes* "recent history" in "other history" rather than *excludes* other history to make room for recent.

A student in political science asked me recently if any engagement of the Revolution took place on Louisiana soil. (In passing let me explain that I do not give the course in Louisiana history; the above-mentioned colleague has it.) When I suggested that the student go

to the statehouse and read the tablet commemorating the capture, in 1779, of the British post at Baton Rouge, by the American and Spanish allies, she was dumfounded. This merely illustrates the general neglect of local history in our schools and colleges. However, that question was suggested by the celebration of the centenary of the battle of New Orleans. It is doubtless impracticable to offer separate courses in local history, but a considerable amount may be taught by dovetailing it with more general courses. The more recent the topics treated, the greater likelihood that the students will be interested. Having aroused their interest, we can lead it back along the lines of institutional development. The part that biography would play in such a course is obvious, so I will illustrate from the field of political history. The Louisiana Supreme Court has recently decided a long-contested appointment of a state-bank examiner. Taking that as the point of departure, I found it comparatively easy to arouse the interest of some of my students in the origin of national banks, proceeding by way of the Federal Reserve Act. Apply the same method on a broader scale, ever widening the student's horizon, by connecting local and recent occurrences with those more distant in time and place, and you stand an excellent chance of really vivifying his work. Suppose the recent McManus indemnity be taken for example; we can compare the killing of McManus with the destruction of the Maine, with the pretext for the Mexican War, with the war of Jenkins's Ear, and a dozen others, and they may, in turn, be correlated with each other. Again, the dedication by Wilson and Taft of the Red Cross Building may be used not merely to introduce the women of the Civil War, but also Florence Nightingale and the Crimean War. The philosophy of the whole matter is contained in a saying of Dr. J. W. Nicholson, the beloved dean of our college of arts and sciences — "An ounce of illustration is worth a

pound of explanation." If that be true — and it is — evidently the more recent the illustration, the more comprehensible it will be, *ceteris paribus*; and the more comprehensible, the more efficacious.

Assuredly, we must not ignore the fact that our view of recent history is likely to be astigmatic, perhaps biased, and many of our data will not be based on documents. But Professor Muzzey is right in saying:

For all the gingerly caution of historians not to come so close to the present as to spoil their perspective, we find very little evidence that remoteness in time from the events chronicled lends any great probability of agreement on either facts or the interpretation of facts. There is as much controversy over Julius Caesar today among Roman historians as there is over Roosevelt among modern politicians. As for the credibility of our facts in past history, there is little reason to think that they were selected or recorded with as much faithfulness and accuracy as are the facts of the present. There is scarcely an historical event recorded, whose credibility has not sometime and somewhere been called in question.<sup>1</sup>

This simply means that we must be careful, when teaching recent history, to inculcate open-mindedness. Personally, I agree with Gathany that:

The further back we go in history, the fewer big things do we find that have a bearing on the present world of thought and action. Such things should receive serious and intensive study. Thus content would be put into those things worth while, and it would be rather difficult to forget them. Put in another way, this process of elimination means that considerably less time would be given to pre-nineteenth century European and American history, and much more time given to the study of history from the nineteenth century to the present day, the last twenty years of European and American history receiving considerable attention.<sup>2</sup>

Too many students are apt to get the idea of the old

<sup>1</sup> *History Teacher's Magazine*, III, 27, 28.

<sup>2</sup> *History Teacher's Magazine*, V, 225.

professor in one of Richard Harding Davis' stories, that no event which had occurred within his own recollection was historic. Instead of realizing that the more recent and personal an event, the more likely is it to be germane to their lives, such people fall into the error of which Henry Sydnor Harrison's "Queed" was accused by "Sharlee." You recall that on the memorable evening when he went to discuss with her his discharge from the *Post*, she said:

You are a failure as a sociologist for the reason that you are wholly out of relation to life . . . You know absolutely nothing about human society except what other men have found out and written down in textbooks. You say you are an evolutionary sociologist. Yet a wonderful demonstration of social evolution is going on all around you, and *you don't even know it* . . . On the one side there is the old slaveholding aristocracy; on the other, the finest democracy in the world; and here and now human society is evolving from the one thing to the other. A real sociologist would be absorbed in watching this marvelous process; social evolution actually surprised in her workshop. But you — I doubt if you even knew it was going on. A tremendous social drama is being acted out under your very window and you yawn and *pull down the blind!*

I hope there is no danger of any history teacher's making the same ghastly mistake. There is little difference of opinion, I presume, as to the desirability and necessity of teaching that phase of recent history known as current events, or contemporary history. There is room, however, for disagreement as to whether such work should be done daily, weekly, fortnightly, or monthly; whether in class or out, by recitation or by report, by assigned topics or by the student's own selection; in a certain class or in all classes. Preferably, it should be done in all history classes, as frequently as practicable and by various methods. This is not the time for a discussion of these methods, which are well treated with regard to the high school by Nelson, in the article I have

quoted above, in the *History Teacher's Magazine* for March, 1915, and by Gathany in the number for November, 1914. In the same journal for February, 1910, Dr. Hayes discusses the question from the standpoint of the university. The "laboratory of history" which he there describes is of course out of the reach of most of us, but the parable of the talents will apply here also.

To summarize, in conclusion: By recent history, I mean the last fifty years, especially the last fifteen. This I would stress at the expense of the nonessentials in other periods. In all classes, high school and college, I would seek to vitalize the past by bringing the events studied into the closest possible touch with the lives of the students, particularly by comparing remote occurrences with recent and familiar ones.



## HOW THE MUSEUM OF HISTORY WORKS

BY EDWARD CARLTON PAGE

In this paper we shall not attempt to argue the value of the use of actual historical objects in the teaching of history, though unfortunately there seem to be some to whom such argument might profitably be addressed. Neither will we narrate how a serviceable collection of such objects may be gathered by almost any school with very slight expenditure of money. Our own museum is not quite three years old, yet we have assembled about 2,000 separate items besides a special collection of 2,000 Indian relics donated by one of our citizens. Not counting the cabinet cases, the total expenditure has been not to exceed ten dollars, chiefly for crating and express. But we do not care now to speak at length of these things. Our object, rather, is to show by the story of the concrete workings of a particular institution how a museum of history may be kept constantly in active service.

In these days of making things concrete and of visualizing, it would seem natural that museums of history at work would be very common, at least in normal schools. Yet only a cursory investigation reveals, first, the fact that very few such schools have enough historical objects to be dignified by the term "collection," and secondly, the more striking fact that few make any real use of what they do have. A friend of ours has the museum idea pretty well developed and assembled a fair-sized collection in the normal school where he had charge of the department of history. Called to another institution, he left the museum as a legacy to his successor. After a time, he met the latter at a teachers' meeting and, of

course, inquired about the progress of the museum and especially as to its use. He was unconcernedly informed that the museum had not been of much use, for they had lost the keys two years before and had not been able to get into the cabinets! We are compelled to believe that this incident is not an isolated one but, rather, that it is typical of the mental attitude of a large proportion of teachers of history. So a somewhat detailed consideration of the ways a museum may be used will probably not be a work of supererogation.

First, then, of greatest importance is the taking of the objects into the classroom. In our own museum everything goes except a few articles too large or too heavy to move and a very few too fragile to handle. To be sure, there is danger that some things may be injured or lost or stolen, though an experience of three years has demonstrated this danger to be almost negligible. But were it greater we believe it is better to lose some things while in use rather than preserve them by "cold storage."

Of course, the taking of articles into the schoolroom and wonderingly staring at them as curiosities is of little value. Historical objects have educative value in so far as they reveal to some degree the life of other times or other climes. The teacher must see this and must help the pupil to see it or the presence of the object is of little avail. In our classes in the Normal School we constantly, by precept and by example, preach the gospel of the museum of history. When our students become student-teachers in the Training School they are expected to make large use of the museum, and they do. We give our personal attention to delivery of material to the applicants for it. No article is allowed to go out unless the student-teacher understands the significance thereof. The supervising critic teachers watch to see that correct interpretative use is made of the material.

The method of comparison is one of the most effec-

tive for bringing out the significance of articles. One way of comparison is to contrast the manner of different peoples in doing a certain thing. Thus, one class made use of our resources in the way of foot apparel. Eighteen or twenty kinds of footwear from nine different countries and three continents excited the intensest of intelligent interest. Here was the basis for many little themes, for drawings, for oral reports, and for investigations of other customs of these same people.

Another method of comparison is to contrast one age with another in its method of solving its problems. This is most helpful because it shows the evolution of phases of life. For example, we have procured about twenty-five different articles showing the evolution of the process of getting fire and making a light. When children have whirled the primitive fire-stick until it begins to smoke, when they have struck a spark with flint and steel, when they have actually made candles by dipping and by molding them in molds 150 years old, when they have contrasted a replica of the original incandescent lamp with the latest tungsten pattern — when they have done these things and others, they have not simply been learning how men came up from primitive limitations towards rational freedom but they have actually experienced the process. The enthusiasm which illumines the countenances of children living such experiences affords compensation to the schoolmaster for many weary hours of drudgery.

Pupils appreciate most those things they are allowed to handle and use. Accordingly we encourage this in all cases possible. A little procession around the school-room with "Wide Awake" caps and capes, torches, flambeaus, and a Civil War fife will do more to make the old-fashioned campaign a reality than all the books in the library. A few days ago we quizzed a sixth-grade class about the early life of Franklin and one of them made the

remark that Franklin's father was a tallow-chandler. We asked what that was and were told he made candles. We asked if they knew how candles were made and they answered, "Yes," with enthusiasm. When asked how they knew, they fairly shrieked, "We've made 'em." The fact that the molds were as old as Franklin's time did not detract from their interest. For them, at least one phase of the past was a living reality.

After using things from the museum, pupils occasionally write us letters telling what they have learned from the material. These letters are highly instructive as to the workings of the child mind and are a serviceable guide as to how to utilize objects to the greatest advantage.

Some idea of the extent to which articles are taken from the museum may be obtained when we state that 225 separate items were taken out in fourteen weeks of the fall term. In eleven weeks of last term 236 were taken out. Things are in brisker demand this term. Last week thirty-four items were taken out in one day. Twenty-seven of the items were material illustrating the financing of the Civil War—Confederate currency (state and national), a Confederate bond, a United States bond in facsimile, an income tax receipt, a promissory note, a will, a bank check, and a photograph, all bearing war-revenue stamps. Other articles of the day were various Indian relics. The day before, United States and British flags and a colonial hornbook (in reproduction) were in demand. About the same time photographs of colonial exteriors and interiors were called for. These demands may be considered typical of the variety from day to day.

Next in importance to taking the museum into the schoolroom is taking classes to the museum. To get the greatest value out of such visitation requires a good deal of care. If classes are too large it is difficult to give edu-

cative guidance. Consequently, we encourage their coming in small groups. Then there is danger that the pupils, attracted by curiosity, will glance at many things without intelligently seeing anything. To obviate this we select a comparatively narrow range of related objects, let them observe these with such explanation as may be needful, and then send them off with the eager desire to come again and study other things. To facilitate this process one or more teachers always accompany the pupils. Where it seems necessary, the teachers themselves are instructed beforehand in regard to the objects, in order that they may assist in explanations. Of course, these class visits are frequent from our own Training School and from the ward schools of the city. But not infrequently teachers of country schools near at hand and of village schools on the interurban railways bring in their pupils for study in the museum. In every case we endeavor to focus their attention upon some particular group of articles illustrating some phase of history, in order that they may carry away something definite and lasting rather than a confused and fleeting recollection of many things.

We regard very highly for educative purposes special exhibits. These are made up of material segregated from the remainder of the museum and selected because it expresses a unitary idea. The anniversary of an important event, the illustration of the evolution of some phase of history, etc., are the occasions for these special exhibits. We aim not to have them frequently enough to become commonplace and yet we want them often enough to be expected.

We have had five such displays so far this school year. The first was in celebration of the centennial of the Star Spangled Banner. Perhaps the most striking feature was an exact replica, four feet long, of the original Star Spangled Banner. The next display was in



celebration of Chicago Day, October 9. Relics of the fire and of the Columbian Exposition, including the eighty official photographs of the Fair by Jackson, were the most interesting parts of the exhibit. Another interesting display was a series of colored posters showing the military uniforms of the Europeans engaged in the present war, an account of their national songs, and a twelve-inch silk flag of each. Perhaps our most extensive exhibit, and the one best wrought out, was put on in February, showing how men have solved the problem of apparel. It must have consisted of 150 or more items, large and small. A newspaper description of the display is printed as an appendix to this paper. Just at present a rather varied display of things from the Philippines is on.

In course of time nearly every article in the museum will be segregated for particular study in these special exhibits. Many articles will appear several times in different groupings. We are careful to have a well-defined unitary idea back of these groupings and we endeavor to make this idea clear by ample labeling, by public explanations to our student body, and by newspaper articles.

We are fortunate in the possession of an admirable exhibition hall. There is a spacious, well-lighted corridor adjacent to the history department. Around the walls of this corridor and in portable cases there is ample room for a display as extensive as we can ever desire. Through this corridor nearly every student in school passes nearly every day in the year. Consequently, the exhibits are admirably obtruded upon the attention of all and easy opportunity is given for a study of the exhibit item by item at odd moments without sacrificing time. And they do study again and again, as much as anyone could reasonably wish.

We try to time special exhibits when there are unusual gatherings at the Normal School or in the com-



munity. Notices in the local press apprise the public of the particular attraction. That the public is interested is manifest. Not long ago the Woman's Club held a session in the Normal auditorium. Before and after the session upwards of 200 people visited the special exhibit and the museum proper. Last summer the Commercial Club held a merchants' picnic in a neighboring park. During the day fully 500 people visited our collections.

We are just inaugurating a new kind of special display. Every now and then we shall put out in our exhibition hall those articles which have been acquired during the preceding two or three months. Of course, there will be no unitary idea back of the array but it will afford visitors a chance to give the articles a "once over" before they go into the general collection. It will also, doubtless, stimulate some to make contributions to the museum.

We endeavor to apply the special exhibit idea out in the community as well as at the Normal School. On a number of public occasions we have made special displays of material appropriate to the occasion. On one of its social evenings the Commercial Club had short addresses on Mexico. We took down a case well filled with articles from Mexico which attracted a good deal of attention. A children's missionary meeting was enlivened by an array of things from mission lands. Occasionally we have a small collection of more than usually interesting material in the show window of some of the local stores. These instances are typical of others of a similar nature in which we seek to serve the public.

In passing, we may remark that the press of our city is extremely liberal toward our enterprise. Every few days there is something of interest pertaining to the museum. Sometimes it may be only a paragraph. Often it is a column or more. Our special exhibits are always liberally noticed. Of course, this attention very materi-

ally extends the usefulness of the museum and helps to make it a bond between the school and the community. The Commercial Club, too, helps by issuing a little folder which is sent out by the business men of our city by the ten thousand. It enumerates among the attractions of DeKalb the "Normal Museum of History."

Another method of putting the museum to use is to take an object or series of objects as the basis of a public address. Just at present we are giving a number of talks on the evolution of weapons to the general assembly of Normal School students and Training School pupils. We have fifty or more articles, ranging from the rude war club of the South Sea Islander up to the modern breech-loading rifle. About all the important stages of development are represented except the match-lock musket. Some specimens are rare, such as a deer's rib with a flint arrowhead still imbedded in it, and a paper cartridge of Civil War times. It is hard to tell who are most interested in the exhibition and accompanying remarks — faculty, students, or primary pupils. It is a capital illustration of how a comparatively uninteresting subject may be illumined and made understandable, even to children, by the use of concrete material.

In a literary way the museum is largely used. Its stores afford the subject for many themes in the classes in English. The whole senior class of upwards of 150 members recently was required to get its inspiration for its weekly theme from the museum. A whole number of the *Northern Illinois*, the school paper, was devoted not long ago to the same topic. The *Norther*, the student annual, gives liberal space to the same thing. It is needless to say that these things lead to a widespread and an attentive study of the museum collections.

It may be wondered what we do with our museum from the ordinary viewpoint as a repository and place of display of historical material. Here also we endeavor

to obtain the maximum service. First, the museum rooms are always open. The doors are not only not locked but also never closed. Whenever the Normal building is open, anyone can visit the museum. Secondly, we are very careful to arrange the material so that all objects on display may be seen. We have observed that in most museums, except the largest, where they are not limited as to space, many things are so placed as to be seen with difficulty, if at all. We would store things entirely out of sight and exhibit them only occasionally rather than have them only partially visible all the time. In the third place, we try to group objects and to label them so that they will be self-explanatory. By so doing we enable every visitor to obtain knowledge as well as entertainment from his visit.

We have already indicated the attention our special exhibits receive from school and public. But when there is nothing out of the ordinary to see, the number of visitors is gratifying. There is hardly an hour in the day when some one is not wandering about the rooms, mostly students, of course, but also many others. On a recent Saturday we were at our office most of the forenoon. It is necessary to pass the office door in going to the museum. It is safe to say that there were at least fifty visitors, although there was nothing unusual to attract them. We discover that a good many get in Saturday afternoons, although only a rear door of the building is open and only the caretakers are there. Even on Sundays many gain admittance through the courtesy of the superintendent of the building or of members of the faculty who have keys.

We trust that by this time it may be inferred what is our notion of a museum. Our ideal of a museum is a room spacious enough and amply supplied with shelves and cases for all of a collection but with everything empty. We would have *everything out at work all the*

*time* in the schoolroom or in special exhibits. Why? Because in this manner a museum may be a mighty aid in making the past ages live again, which is the chief function of the teacher of history. This reminds us of our text for this "sermon" which we forgot at the beginning but which will do as well for closing: "The historian fondly imagines his great trouble is to find the truth of the Past. Simple-hearted creature! His supreme difficulty is to make the Past thinkable."<sup>1</sup>

APPENDIX: FROM THE DE KALB *CHRONICLE*, FEBRUARY 10, 1915

PAGE GOES INTO CLOTHING LINE

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HISTORY TEACHER AT THE NORMAL HAS MOST CLEVER EXHIBIT

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APPAREL OF EVERY KIND

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Wearables of All Periods and All Lands are Shown in Novel Collection in the Museum of History at Normal School

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Few normal schools have a museum of history and some of those that have make little use of their collections. That of the local Normal School is distinguished from most others by the very active use which is made of the material. Special exhibits are one of the means by which its resources are put to use. At the present time there is on display in the east corridor on the second floor of the main building an exhibit of articles showing how men of other times and of other climes have solved the problem of apparel.

Here is a series of small models (or dolls) showing the dress of various classes in China and Korea. The bamboo sweat-jacket and sweat-cuffs from Korea are curious. Eighteen kinds of footwear from three continents and nine different countries, the oldest article dating back to 1778, indicate a surprising variety in this line.

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<sup>1</sup> N. W. Stephenson in *Drama*, May, 1912, 202.

A baby hood, bonnets, an old lady's cap, three kinds of Korean hats, a Mexican sombrero and reproduction of a Middle Age helmet show the head covering of men. Hand-wrought wedding veils of a hundred years ago and a wedding vest of cream-colored silk of sixty years ago, and a Korean bridegroom's hat appeal to sentiment.

A man's shawl of Civil War times, a "Wide Awake" cap and cape, a Mexican rain-coat, and a poncho from the Spanish-Americas exhibit a variety of top coats. Thomas S. Murray's service uniform worn in the Porto Rico campaign, displayed "life size," has been promptly dubbed "Dannie Deever" by the students.

Old brass buttons, a pewter button, Filipino buttons made from oyster shells, clam shells with the holes in them made by cutting out disks for pearl buttons, and an encyclopedia of 1765, with a full-page cut, showing the old process of making buttons by hand, constitute an interesting chapter on buttons.

Bracelets, wrought of hair, earrings, an immense amber back comb, bamboo combs from China, and a Filipino necklace are from the realm of feminine ornamentation. A Chinese fan, a Korean fan, and some "sweet girl" graduate fans give some indication of the evolution of the cooling process.

Silk "visiting" aprons reveal the social proclivities of our grandmothers. Bustles of varying sizes and hoop skirts show the frivolities of a generation ago.

There are spectacles of colonial days and some not so old, but still queer, as well as a pair from Korea. Native fabrics from Hawaii and the Philippines attract attention.

A series of fashion plates goes back as far as 1790. One of 1894 is about as curious as any in the list. A dry goods price list of 1864, with present-day prices in the margin, reveals some rather startling facts.

The list of implements for manufacturing clothing (some of them about 200 years old) is rather extensive — a cotton spinning wheel, flax wheels, a flax hetchel, wool cards, a swift for skeining, a clock reel, a niddy-noddy, a tape and garter loom, one of the earliest Wheeler & Wilson sewing machines, a sewing bird, etc.

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But there are many other articles in this exhibit, all designed to show the one idea of the evolution of apparel. The public is invited to visit and study this display. It will be in place until about the middle of next week. If anyone discovers he has articles which would add variety to the collection, his coöperation will be welcome.



